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The English grammar schools to 1660

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The English Grammar Schools to 1660

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The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice

by

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is to present an account of the development of the teaching in the English Grammar Schools from the time of the Invention of Printing up to 1660. It is a history of the practice of the schools, of their curricula, and of the differentiated subjects of instruction, in distinction from the history of the theories of educational reformers as to what ought to be taught, and how existing methods might be improved. The basis of the work is therefore bibliographical. It has been impossible, within the space at disposal, to include a statement of all the bibliographical detail, on which the generalisations are based, but, throughout, the attempt has been made to describe really representative documents and school text-books. The study of English educational history has not hitherto included much consideration of the old school text-books used in the 16th and 17th centuries. Yet this seems to be the safest way of securing a sound basis for the study of the school practice of the times. It will be evident how much use has been made of the *Ludus Literarius* (1612 and 1627) of John Brinsley and the *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* of Charles Hoole (1660). This has been the more necessary because as yet there are no reprints of those outstanding historical documents of 17th century school work. Free use has been made also of School Statutes, which at any rate, express the

intention of the Founders as to what was to be taught in their schools, and frequently the methods by which subjects were to be taught. In some cases these may be individual opinions, but usually, they reflect the current view of the active educational workers of their times.

It should be stated that this book has been developed on the basis of a Monograph, by the present writer, privately published by the Bibliographical Society in 1903, entitled: *The Curriculum and Text-books of English Schools in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century.* The author returns his best thanks to the Society for courteous permission to use some of the material, particularly the substance of the concluding chapter of this work, first put forward in that Monograph. Thanks are also gratefully tendered by the author to his colleague, Professor Edward Bensly, for most generous help in the revision of proof-sheets.

F. W.

Ty Dôl,
Wealdstone.
September, 1908.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
	INTRODUCTION	1
CHAP.		
I.	THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION OF SCHOOLS	10
	Note. The School in the Church-building	24
II.	RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS, 1500–1600	25
	Note A Authorities on the Primer	37
	Note B. School Prayers and Religious Observances	38
	Note C Church Attendance required by Statute from Grammar School Boys	45
III.	THE TEACHING OF THE BIBLE	50
	Excursus on Religious Instruction in the Schools, 1600–1660	63
IV.	THE CATECHISM	69
	Note A. School Statutes *re* Catechisms	79
	Note B. Maunsell's List of Catechisms, 1595	83
	Note C. The Printers of Catechisms	84
V.	THE TEACHING OF LOGIC AND THE METHOD OF DISPUTATIONS	86
VI.	THE TEACHING OF MANNERS AND MORALS	98
	Note A. Mancinus: de quattuor Virtutibus	120
	Cato's Distichs	121
	Della Casa's Galateo	122
	Note B. Representative Bibliography of further English (published) Books on Manners, etc., up to 1660	123
	Note C. Statutes prescribing Manners and Morals of Schoolmasters	126
	Note D. Statutes relating to the Manners and Morals of Scholars	132

CHAP.		PAGE
VII.	Mediaeval Elementary Instruction	137
VIII.	The Elementary Schools, 1547–1660	148
IX.	The A B C and the Horn-book A B C	161
X.	The Teaching of Reading	173
	Note A. Typical Reading and Spelling Books intended for the purpose of Teaching the Reading of the Bible	184
	Note B. Christ's Hospital School and Reading	185
XI.	The Teaching of Writing	186
	Note. Further representative list of copy-books	202
XII.	The Teaching of Music in the 16th and 17th Centuries	205
XIII.	Mediaeval Grammar Schools and Schoolmasters	222
XIV.	The Early English Printed Grammars including the Magdalen College School (Oxford) Group	232
XV.	The Authorised Latin Grammar	243
XVI.	The Emendations of Lily's Grammar	260
	Note. Latin Grammars more or less independent of Lily	273
XVII.	The Grammar War	276
	Note A. Tesmarus on Grammar	287
	Note B. S. Lowe's List of Grammars, 1726	288
	Excursus. Comenius and his English followers on the Teaching of Grammar	289
XVIII.	The Practice of Grammar Teaching	293
	Note. Hoole's list of School Authors for the lower Forms	301
XIX.	Latin-Speaking	305
	School Statutes and Orders *re* Latin Speaking	316
	Excursus on Play-Reading and Play-Acting in Schools	318
XX.	Colloquies	325
	Note A. Admission Form to a School	346
	Note B Pueriles Confabulatiunculae	347

CHAP.		PAGE
XXI.	TRANSLATION OF AUTHORS	349
	Note. Sententiae pueriles	358
XXII.	THE HIGHER AUTHORS	360
	Excursus: Colet's Statutes. Mantuan. Palingenius	373
XXIII.	VOCABULARIES AND DICTIONARIES	380
XXIV.	THE MAKING OF LATINS	401
XXV.	LETTER-WRITING	413
XXVI.	THEME WRITING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 17TH CENTURY	422
	Note. Erasmus's *de Copia*	437
XXVII.	RHETORIC	440
	Note A. The Jesuit Method of Teaching Rhetoric	452
	Note B. The Origins of the Teaching of Modern Subjects	453
XXVIII.	THE SCHOOL ORATION AT THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH	454
	Note A. Subjects for School Oratorical Disputations	465
	Note B. Writers of Phrase-books, etc.	467
XXIX.	VERSE-MAKING	468
	Note A. The *Flores Poetarum* and Greek Anthology	483
	Note B. Verse-making in Current Curricula	485
	Note C. The Country Grammar School	486
XXX.	THE TEACHING OF GREEK	487
XXXI.	THE TEXT-BOOKS FOR THE TEACHING OF GREEK	501
XXXII.	HEBREW	524
	CONCLUSION	530
	INDEX	540

ERRATA

p. 95, n. 2. For *Schonborn*, read *Schönborn*.

p. 103, ll. 2, 13. For *Cortigiano*, read *Cortegiano*.

p. 106, l. 17. For *Whittington*, read *Whittinton*.

p. 107, l. 8. For *venerate*, read *venerare*.

p. 111 n. For *questio*, read *quaestio*.

p. 125, last line but two. For *Lerinus*, read *Levinus*.

p. 139, last line but eight. For *Kauna*, read *Kanna*.

p. 149, l. 4. For *Edward*, read *Edmund*. *See* p. 177 n.

p. 287, under Note A. For *Tresmarus*, read *Tesmarus*.

p. 372, l. 2. For μάλιστα γελέως (?λιγέως), read μάλιστα λιγέως.

INTRODUCTION.

VIEWING the Grammar School curriculum as a whole, during the two hundred years preceding 1660, it is convenient to regard it as a contrast to the curriculum of the Middle Ages. The mediaeval curriculum consisted in a general course in the Seven Liberal Arts, preparatory to specialistic training in Theology or Law. The Seven Liberal Arts were sub-divided into the Trivium, viz. Dialectic, Grammar, Rhetoric; and the Quadrivium, viz. Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. These seven Arts constituted the round of general knowledge, the Encyclopaedia. They were expounded in treatises, supposed to be comprehensive, in the MS. text-books of Martianus Capella, Boethius, Cassiodorus and Isidorus of Seville. In the early stage of the Renascence influence, an attempt was made to construct encyclopaedic manuals, after the fashion of the mediaeval text-books, but embodying the new knowledge. The most famous instance is the *Margarita Philosophica* edited by Gregorius Reisch, published at Fribourg in 1503. But the enormous increase of knowledge in the Revival of Learning doomed to failure all these attempts to incorporate the new stores of knowledge within a single volume. The incoming of the Renascence spirit, therefore, marks the critical point in the breaking up of the mediaeval encyclopaedias, from the point of view of the school curriculum, and the beginning of the modern practice of the differentiation of school subjects.

In the mediaeval point of view there was, it is true, a certain aspect of knowledge as an organic whole, which was

to some extent obscured in the developments of the 16th and 17th centuries. But the differentiation of the curriculum into separate subjects of study, by the introduction of critical methods, and of close analysis, brought a wealth of detail before pupils, and a thoroughness of study into the study of classical language and literature, such as was signally lacking in mediaeval times.

Two changes eventually resulting from the Renascence must be especially noticed. Firstly, the change in perspective of the curriculum as a whole. Secondly, the evolution of text-books. With regard to the change in perspective of the curriculum, the 16th and 17th centuries saw the expansion of the Quadrivium into the separate subjects of the mathematics and of the sciences. In this development, England took its fair share. In Arithmetic, Cuthbert Tunstall, Robert Recorde, John Napier, William Oughtred helped to establish modern methods. In Geometry Henry Billingsley in 1570 presented a translation of Euclid, and Leonard Digges, Thomas Hood, Henry Briggs, and the succession of Savilian Professors at Oxford and the Gresham Lecturers in London, advanced the knowledge of the subject and extended its influence. Astronomy flourished in England from the light thrown on it by students of Copernicus, Tycho Brahé, Kepler, and Galileo. Algebra was differentiated from Arithmetic and started an independent career in England from the time of Thomas Harriot, till it was systematised by John Wallis. So, too, Trigonometry was introduced into England by Thomas Blundevile and developed by William Oughtred. In the sciences, Botany, Zoology, Physiology and Anatomy were differentiated and developed by classifications which marked the scientific movement away from the old Aristotelian authority in the advance towards the modern treatment. Magnetism, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Chemistry and Geology began to claim treatment separately. The old Quadrivium was broken up into a host of separate studies, each of which

included a large mass of observational and experimental phenomena, urgently calling for organised treatment. Mathematical and scientific studies were thus vigorously stimulated. But in both these directions, only the mature and professed students of the subjects were effectively influenced. In none of these subjects did the new intellectual movements reach the Grammar Schools. The new perspective of mathematical and scientific developments, founded on the breaking up and analysis of the Quadrivium, was, therefore, only a slight and indirect influence, in this period, on the schools.

It was different with the old subjects of the Trivium; Dialectic, Grammar, Rhetoric. Here, a complete revolution can be traced in the perspective of these studies, a revolution of the first importance in its effect on the schools of the 16th and 17th centuries. In the Middle Ages, right up to the time of the Renascence, Dialectic was supreme. It swamped Grammar and Rhetoric. Or, to state the matter more accurately, Rhetoric divorced from the reading of authors was a dumb-show, whilst Grammar retained its name and little more, for it was permeated with the dialectical method. The later mediaeval grammarians, e.g. Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune, took Grammar out of its practical sphere and introduced into it the flights and flappings of Logic and Metaphysics. But with the Renascence, this was changed. Grammar became the first of school subjects both in order of study, as it was in the Middle Ages, and in order of importance. Grammar dethroned Logic, and in the 16th and 17th centuries we see Logic slowly and surely disappearing from the old range of the Trivium studied in the schools, as Music was lost along with the rest of the Quadrivium. Rhetoric indeed remained to the Elizabethan and Stuart schools, and, by the reading of authors, came to the highest position in the curriculum, that is, for the highest pupils. The high repute of Rhetoric, and its important place in the curriculum, is perhaps to the modern reader the most striking feature of the school

work of the first half of the 17th century. But throughout the school course Grammar was the 'first' of school studies. The fact, however, must not be overlooked, that Grammar, in the earlier part of the 16th century, to scholars and teachers meant something different from 'Grammar' as it filtered down into the school practice of the 17th century. For, in questions of education, the cry of the Renascence writers was, Back to Quintilian! With Quintilian, Grammar was founded upon, and inclusive of, the study of humanistic literature. The enthronement of literature, and the minimising of formalistic Grammar, was the position taken up in England by Sir Thomas Elyot in the book called the *Gouvernour* (1531) and in Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570). Eventually, however, in English schools in the latter part of the 16th century and in the 17th century, Grammar ordinarily became an entity in itself, of which literature was, as it were, a concrete manifestation, and a vast territory for illustration of grammatical rules. There were, however, throughout the period, scholars and schoolmasters who protested against this undue glorification of Grammar. The conflict is described in the chapter on the Grammar War, in the present work (Chapter XVII).

This twofold change in the perspective of the curriculum, viz. the expansion of each of the Liberal Arts into further subjects of study, in the constituents both of the Trivium and of the Quadrivium, and the change in the relative position of the subjects of the Trivium, involved a further development, viz. a progressive evolution of text-books. Any effective study of the history of the practice of teaching in the schools must be based on bibliographical material. Hitherto, in England historical research in education has concerned itself predominantly with accounts of the views of educational reformers, from whose writings only indirect evidence can be obtained as to the internal work of the schools of any period. For the prevalent school practice it is necessary to consult the actual school text-books, used by teacher and pupil in the

school work. This task has been attempted in the following pages.

It is clear that the evolution of the text-book for purposes of general instruction was enormously facilitated by the Invention of Printing, and this event furnishes, therefore, the most convenient starting-point. It fixes the coming of the text-book method of study. For, at most, in the Middle Ages the schoolmaster might possess or have recourse to MS. text-books, but in the Renascence period teacher and pupils possessed their own books, and books on all subjects were indefinitely multiplied. In 1660, Charles Hoole notes down over 300 books which ought to be within the reach of the Grammar School pupils.

The mediaeval methods had been essentially those of the Disputation; the later methods were those of the written Latin theme, verse and oration, and the utilisation in their service of all available literature, not only for style but also for subject-matter. Within the two hundred years described in this book, the great experiment was tried of making Latin available in the first place as the standard language of communication. So far from Latin being recognised as a dead language, it was the primary object of the Grammar School to make Latin live again, and the learned man could not be better distinguished from the unlearned than by his ability to *speak* Latin. In the second place, the Grammar School increasingly laid stress on written Latin compositions, which should conform to classical standards, as far as style was concerned, but with an ever widening field of choice for subject-matter. The critical reading of classical authors from an aesthetic or philosophical point of view was not, and could not be, within the range of the Grammar School. In other words, the aim of the schools was not so much humanistic, in the sense of imparting a training in literature, as it was practical, in attempting to give the pupils control over the instrument of all culture of their own and preceding ages. Roman and Greek literature were

studied not so much as ends in themselves as the storehouses of adequate and eloquent expression, the happy hunting-ground of the right thing to discourse about, and the right way of saying it. The real, though not always the explicitly acknowledged ideal of the Grammar School master, was the *bonus orator* of Quintilian, not the classical scholarship framed upon the ideals with which later ages are familiarised by the traditions of a Bentley and a Porson and a Kennedy.

This statement of the practical aim of the 16th and 17th century Grammar School must not be regarded as depreciatory of the literary aspect of the classics. The admiration of the schoolmaster for a Muretus, a Scaliger, or a Casaubon was unbounded, but such scholarship was only for intellectual giants, whilst a working knowledge of Latin for conversation and the written expression of thoughts, with the vast accumulation of apparatus of dictionaries, grammars and phrase-books, was eminently practical. The entrance to the legal, medical, and clerical professions required a ready knowledge of Latin. Travelling and communication abroad equally demanded practical knowledge of Latin. The reading of classical authors was required, but the pupil was expected to have his note-book at hand into which he transcribed all phrases and information likely to be of use for the need of conversation and of written exercises.

It is necessary to lay stress on this attitude of impelling the classical authors into serviceableness by the pupil because it modifies the impression which prevails that the post-Renascence schools followed Ascham in the insistence of Imitation of the classical authors, as the main educational discipline, to be derived from classical studies. The discipline contemplated was rather that of adaptation by the pupil of terms and phrases, sanctioned by classical usage, to the needs of communication of his ideas, either in speech or writing. A classical phrase, which was specially neat and happy, was to be retained in mind, or at least in the note-book, for an

occasion when it could be, to use our modern term, 'turned to use.' In the earlier period of the Renascence, conversation-books and phrase-books were founded on subjects from Terence and Cicero, but in the later part of the 16th and throughout the 17th century the phrase-books and apparatus for exercises increased their storage of subjects for exercises, and phrases to be employed in connexion with them, to meet the enormous increase in subjects of knowledge and the new sources from which knowledge could be derived.

It has been somewhat too rashly assumed, since 'Imitation' was the essential point of composition in Latin and in Greek, that the school training of the 16th and 17th centuries was chiefly devoted to memory work and the passive side of the pupil's mind. But this estimate overlooks the important place taken in the school by the pupil's series of note-books and commonplace books. If due stress be laid on this equipment, it is clear that the system of requiring the pupil to choose out passages and phrases which interested him and enter them in a commonplace book for future use in his composition, was a method intended to exercise his judgment and to train his taste. It was the method whereby Erasmus and Melanchthon and scholars generally had disciplined themselves in their classical studies, and the result was shown in the countless books of apophthegms, adages, epithets, emblems, phrase-books, anthologies, together with compends and epitomes. Eventually the analytical process reached the 'particle,' settling ὅτι's business and determining the enclitic δέ. These scholarly pursuits were, in their measure, introduced in the school, and a genuine effort was made to induce in the school pupil the attitude of active research by which the scholars had obtained their results. The subjective method of learning on the part of scholars became the objective method of teaching the pupils. The humanistic method of imparting the classics was adopted, for the most part, only by those classical schoolmasters such as Horne, Farnaby, and Hoole, who

knew their business exceptionally well. The text-books show that the aim of the Grammar School teachers of the 16th and 17th centuries was mainly that the pupil should acquire power of classifying the contents of books read, of analysing the paragraphs, sentences, phrases, words, so as to bring them into comparison with those of other authors. The pupil was expected to show active initiation in gaining control over the material of reading and to register his observations in his note-books and commonplace books so as to use the material from his own independent standpoint of free composition and fluent speech.

Moreover the numerous printed phrase-books and treasuries of passages, arranged according to subjects, included quotations from modern writers (in Latin) containing references to histories and events, contemporaneous and recent, as well as mediaeval and ancient; to illustrations from recent books on science, mathematics and other studies. It is to sources such as these in the old school text-books that we must look for the origins of the inclusion within the notice of the Grammar Schools of the subjects which we call modern, e.g. history, science, and even the vernacular.

The English Restoration, 1660, has been chosen as the limit of the survey, because from that time onwards there was the marked competition of modern subjects with the old undivided sway of classical material in the teaching of the Grammar School. This is typified by the incoming of the French influence. Under the Commonwealth, a Latin secretary was employed for official correspondence. After the Restoration, French became the diplomatic language. Or, apart from general influences, we may observe the change in the establishment of mathematical schools, navigation schools, commercial schools, the attachment of writing schools to the Grammar School, and by the end of the 17th century English departments (which were substantially elementary schools for those whose education ended at about 14 or 15 years of age)

and in the charity schools. Further, inside some of the Grammar Schools themselves the widening of the curriculum took place so as to include the vernacular literature, arithmetic and music. Up to the end of the Commonwealth, the Grammar Schools of England may be regarded as apparently exclusively classical in the material of instruction, with the exception—a most important exception—as we shall see, that under mediaeval Catholicism, and afterwards under 16th and 17th century Puritanism, they were, in intention and largely in practice, permeated with moral, religious, and pietistic instruction.

CHAPTER I.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION OF SCHOOLS.

Momentous issues were involved in the proclamation which Charlemagne sent in 787 A.D. to the bishops as well as abbots, since Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, carrying into effect the spirit of the proclamation, required the clergy in his diocese to receive all children who should be sent by their parents for that purpose to be taught in each parish and no fees were to be exacted. Charlemagne's proclamation has been called the first general charter of education for the Middle Ages. He himself founded the great palace schools for the children of courtiers, nobles, and others, and thus established court education in a permanent and recognised institution, and his proclamation gave rise to the schools of the dioceses or cathedral and church schools. From Charlemagne began the organisation of education outside of the monasteries. The monasteries after his time may be regarded as chiefly the training schools of orders of monks. Before the universities were established, the monasteries were the store-houses of learning, and to their educational work is due the force of Cardinal Newman's dictum, 'Not a man in Europe who talks bravely against the Church but owes it to the Church that he can talk at all!' There were no non-Church schools. The Church had the monopoly of learning and of teaching. The palace schools as well as monastery schools were under ecclesiastical influence. But neither the monastery schools nor the palace schools were the people's schools. In so far

as the people generally were educated in the Middle Ages it is to the cathedral or diocesan schools and their offshoots that we must look, those institutions which arose in continuation of the behest of the pioneer Theodulf, that the clergy of the diocese must receive for tuition all those who claimed it.

These schools grew, and though taking their start from an imperial proclamation some claimed Papal notice[1]. If we are to understand the history of the schools after the Reformation we must realise that in the Middle Ages learning and teaching were functions of the Church, and it was only with the growing stores of knowledge and consequently of teaching material that the need of differentiation was felt. It was with the expanding needs of the *body politic*, in many directions, that schools became in any degree separated from the Church, extremely slowly before the Reformation, and even only gradually after the Reformation.

It was from the cathedral schools, in all probability, that the idea arose of having the teaching of schools connected with the various important churches of the towns and villages. This was done by the institution of schools in the various chantries which were established in the larger churches throughout the country.

Mr Arthur F. Leach did an inestimable service to the history of education in showing with such a wealth of illustration the importance of the chantry schools in English education of the pre-Reformation times. 'The great bulk of the chantries,' he says, in England, 'seem to have been founded in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and their number increased with the spread of wealth, right up to the Reforma-

[1] In 826 at a synod of Pope Eugenius II a decree was issued that in *all episcopal sees, and all other places where it is necessary*, masters and doctors are to be provided for, to teach 'letters' and the liberal arts. Thus had Charlemagne's enthusiasm for schools passed into the hands of the Pope and his synod. All education was tightly bound within the ecclesiastical clasp.

tion.' The chantry priest was, in the first place, appointed to pray for the soul of an individual, his family, and friends. Eventually other functions fell to his lot, one of the most common duties enjoined in the later Middle Ages being that of teaching poor boys. We use the term chantry of the chapel, altar or part of the church endowed by the founder of a 'chantry.' The chantry, however, was the endowment itself for the maintenance of a special priest, whose duties usually included the teaching of poor boys. As there were chantries in connexion with most, if not all, of the important churches of the country, the requirement, by the bequeather of a chantry, of the teaching of children by the chantry priest was analogous to the institution by the Church of a prebend in the cathedral churches for the Scholasticus.

The chantry schools, Mr Leach shows excellent reasons for believing, were the most numerous schools in England before the Reformation. The Chantries Acts of 1546 and 1548, though specifically stating good-will towards schools and schoolmasters, offered no exemption from confiscation for song-schools and schools of an elementary type, or for Grammar Schools which were not so by the first foundation[1]. Though the intention of these Acts may not have been antagonistic to education, Mr Leach shows that the effect of the administration of them was drastic, almost to the point of constituting an educational cataclysm. He offers substantial evidence to sustain the position that the ecclesiastical organisation of the Middle Ages had established a school system both on the secondary and elementary planes of a far more extensive kind than historians have ordinarily supposed[2]. The records, as far as accessible, of the commissioners under the Chantries

[1] Leach, *English Schools of the Reformation*, p. 70.

[2] Remarks which point to the same conclusion could be cited from Mulcaster (1581) and Christopher Wase in his *Considerations concerning Free Schools*, 1678, but the Protestant bias of writers seems on this point to have excluded serious research.

Acts, have been included in Mr Leach's book. These commissioners accomplished skilfully their task of describing the details of the endowments of the chantries. Unfortunately for education, the Commission *for the continuance of schools* did not perform their task so creditably. Want of money for other purposes took precedence of educational needs, and the school endowments of the chantries were diverted.

The Chantry School sometimes was very small. On the other hand, sometimes they ran up to 80, 120, 140, or even 160 pupils. The work done in them varied. Out of 259 schools in the records of the Commission under the Chantries Act, '93 were Grammar Schools, 140 are so called...23 are Song-Schools, and 22 may perhaps be regarded simply as Elementary Schools[1].' Grammar Schools are therefore an old institution in England, and are not to be regarded as having their origin with the Reformation. They are of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical origin. Probably Mr Leach does not sufficiently emphasise the influence of the monasteries on education. Mr Thorold Rogers, going to the other extreme, was convinced that Grammar Schools were attached to 'every monastery[2].' Mr Rashdall states that the Grammar Schools belonging to the monasteries were 'secular schools taught by secular masters and quite distinct from the schools of the monks[3].' Mr Rashdall quotes the case of the school founded by Abbot Samson at Bury St Edmunds, and shows that 'no one was allowed to teach within the liberty of St Edmund without the permission of the Abbot and the Magister Scholarum at Bury[4].'

The Foundation Deed of Bruton School makes over a certain manor in Dorset to the Abbot of Bruton for the

[1] Leach, p. 91.
[2] *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, I. p. 165.
[3] *Universities of Europe*, II. p. 600.
[4] *Ibid.* II. p. 555.

purpose of establishing a Grammar School, under his guidance at Bruton[1].

Without however attempting to determine the relative numbers of the different classes of schools, the evidence is clear that the number of schools was great in the later Middle Ages. Mr Hastings Rashdall[2] says on this point: 'It may be stated with some confidence that at least in the later Middle Age the smallest towns and even the larger villages possessed schools where a boy might learn to read and acquire the first rudiments of ecclesiastical Latin: while, except in very remote and thinly populated regions he would never have had to go very far from home to find a regular Grammar School. That the means of education in reading, writing, and the elements of Latin were far more widely diffused in mediaeval times than has sometimes been supposed is coming to be generally recognised by students of mediaeval life. The knowledge of reading and writing and of the elements of Latin was by no means confined to the clergy: "the bailiff of every manor kept his accounts in Latin[3]."' A Grammar Master often formed part of the establishment of a great noble or prelate[4] who had pages of gentle family residing in his house for education. In other cases a boy of a well-to-do family no doubt received his earliest education from a chaplain or 'clerk' of his father, or from a private tutor or neighbouring priest employed for the purpose[5].

It helps us to realise how entirely ecclesiastical was the education of mediaeval times when we recognise the fact that both the students as well as the authorities were ecclesiastical

[1] *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, III. p. 241.

[2] *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II. p. 602.

[3] Stubbs' *Constitutional Hist.* II. p. 345.

[4] Furnivall, *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, E.E.T.S., Forewords, p. vi.

[5] Rashdall, II. p. 603.

in outlook. Mr Hastings Rashdall[1] says, in speaking of the colleges in the Universities (he is treating of Cambridge): 'All the Colleges were designed for ecclesiastics, whether they were required to take holy orders while in the College or not.'

A fact interesting to note in this connexion is mentioned by Abbot Gasquet, viz. that the degree courses in the University were parallel to the ecclesiastical advance of the student. The course of education of the cleric was: at seven years of age a boy might receive the tonsure; between seven and fourteen whilst at school, he would help the priest 'to serve mass' and receive the minor orders of 'door-keeper,' 'lector,' 'exorcist' and 'acolyte.' From fourteen to eighteen at the University he could qualify for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and at eighteen he could become sub-deacon in the Church. When Bachelor of Arts, he must take seven years to qualify as Bachelor of Divinity. Simultaneously at twenty five years of age he could take that degree and become a priest. The University degrees, therefore, fitted into the ecclesiastical course of the clerical student.

The students in the English Church before the Reformation found posts in connexion with the ecclesiastical organisation of the time. The students were educated with a view to ecclesiastical preferment and found a place in the ecclesiastical system. The smallness of the number of students after the Reformation shows that the Chantry Acts and the dissolution of the monasteries had closed up the sources of supply and employment of students. In his *Positions* (1581) Mulcaster bases his argument for the restriction of secondary education on the fact that the Reformation had limited the number of openings in posts connected with the Church, so as to make it undesirable to educate so many pupils as had been done in the past.

The superior provision for educational needs in pre-Reformation times, compared with that of the early Elizabethan

[1] *Universities of Europe*, II. p. 564, note.

period, can be supported by contemporary evidence which seems to have been sometimes overlooked or minimised, as, for instance, the speech[1] of the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1562. The Protestant government of Edward VI did not at first contemplate the abolition of the educational functions of the chantry priests. In the Injunctions of Edward VI, 1547, we find: 'That all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youths to read and write and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises[2].'

Many writers of Reformation times bewail the new state of educational deficiency, e.g. Thomas Lever, Roger Ascham, Bishop Latimer, Harrison, the writer of the *Examination of Complaints*, Cranmer, Thomas Becon.

The duties which were imposed by King Edward VI's Injunctions on all chantry priests to teach in schools were represented by an obligation on all clergy, which continued after the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, to provide for the education of youths, definitely fixed at the same time by the following article in the Injunctions of King Edward VI in 1547:

'And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the execution of the premises every person, vicar, clerk or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the Church an cl.[3] shall give competent exhibition to one scholar: and

[1] 'On the 15th January, 1562, Thomas Williams, of the Inner Temple, Esq., being chosen Speaker to the lower house, was presented to the Queen, and in his speech to her...took notice of the want of schools; that at least an hundred were wanting in England which before this time had been. He would have had England flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from the want of these good schoolmasters sprang up ignorance: and covetousness got the livings by impropriations; which was a decay, he said, of learning, and by it the tree of knowledge grew downward and not upward; which grew greatly to the dishonour, both of God and the Commonwealth' (Strype).

[2] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, I. p. 20.

[3] i.e. £100.

to so many cl. more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition in the University of Oxford or Cambridge or some grammar school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patrons' cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise, in the execution of their offices, or may (where need shall be) otherwise profit the commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom.'

The Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth in 1559 are in the same terms, except that 'a competent exhibition' becomes £3. 6*s*. 8*d*.—a definite sum, viz. one-thirtieth of the benefice held.

In the study of pre-Reformation educational facilities, account must be taken not only of the Monastery Schools, cathedral schools and charity schools, but also, as Mr Leach has shown, of the schools connected with Colleges and Collegiate Churches, with the various Guilds, and with (and after) the establishment of Winchester, what he calls independent schools, that is, schools established as such, apart from combination with other public or social functions in the commonwealth.

But, amid all these prospective possibilities of the evolution of the later type of English Grammar School, the ecclesiastical control of education is typified in the ecclesiastical licensing of the teacher. A school might pass out of the immediate direction of the Church, but the Church maintained authorisation of the new school, and the control over the entrance into the profession of teaching and the right to call a teacher to account. In return for this control, the school and the teacher secured the assistance of the Church in putting down rival institutions not thus authorised, or teachers not licensed, or what in the judgment of the Church was undue or unfair competition.

Nor did these relations between authority and the schools cease with the Reformation. The controlling functions of the

Church passed over from the Pope and his bishops to the King and his bishops. The Head of the Church and his hierarchy still retained the ecclesiastical control of the licensing of schoolmasters as a matter of course. In the reign of Mary, on the restoration of Papal authority, the eleventh Decretum (in Latin) in the *Constitutiones Legatinae R. Poli Cardinalis*, is to this effect: 'Let no one for the future dare to undertake in any place the office of teaching, unless he has been examined by the Ordinary and has been admonished as to the books which he ought to read. If it be otherwise, let him incur the pain of excommunication, and let him be prohibited from teaching for three years. And, amongst those who already perform the office of teaching, if any one be found unworthy in faith, teaching, or morals, let him be rejected; but if worthy let him be confirmed.'

Immediately after Queen Elizabeth's accession it was proposed in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury 'that no one should be admitted to teach youth, either in schools or private families, unless he has been approved by the Ordinary.' This was made quite definite by Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1571, and to it was added, 'That the bishop shall approve no schoolmaster as worthy of the office of teacher, unless, in his judgment, he has sufficient knowledge (nisi quem suo judicio doctum invenerit), and unless he is recommended as worthy in life and morals by the testimony of pious men.'

In Queen Elizabeth's reign reference also must be made to the visitations of the Archbishop's Province of Canterbury. In 1567 Archbishop Parker prescribed, in one of the Articles of Visitation, the inquiry whether the schoolmaster was orthodox and loyal and diligent in teaching youth. In 1581 Archbishop Grindal inquired whether any one was teaching without the Bishop's licence, and the same inquiry was made by Archbishop Whitgift in 1583, 1585, and 1588. In 1604 the 77th of the canons ecclesiastical required that only teachers licensed

by the Bishop's authority might teach. It was not till Queen Victoria's reign that teaching without the Bishop's licence was legalised. It is an interesting fact that in the Commonwealth the power of licensing schoolmasters was exercised by the major-generals, and of course good affection to the Council of State was a necessary condition of the licence.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction over schools and teachers by canon law was no empty letter. It has been a powerful instrument for the punishment of heresy, particularly against Roman Catholic teachers and a long line of Nonconformist teachers, since the power of licensing schoolmasters carried with it the power of prohibition of teaching, whenever the Ordinary saw fit to prohibit, and this ecclesiastical power was sustained in the civil Courts.

The survival of ecclesiastical influence in academical matters may be seen in the privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury to nominate recipients of degrees, of the same titles as those given in the Universities. There are indications that the ecclesiastical authority was technically supreme over the University teachers in Cambridge up to the beginning of the 15th century, in spite of all the controversies and fights between the University and the clergy, and between the Crown and the Pope for the control of the Universities[1]. And if we trace the history of the Universities in ages after the Reformation the most famous statutes to control the University emanate from ecclesiastics, such as Cranmer, Whitgift, and Archbishop Laud, although the visitation was in the hands of the King. If the Universities with all their array of intellectual giants were unable for centuries to cast off the ecclesiastical control, it is clear that Grammar Schools, isolated up and down the country with no bond of union and concentration, were in a far less favourable position to claim autonomy. The persistence

[1] Even with the apparent triumph of the English Universities over the Pope, the doctors of the English Universities had not the prestige of the *jus ubique docendi*.

of the survival of ecclesiastical control, formal or informal, in the Universities, can be seen by the fact that a religious test obtained in the Universities till 1871, so that Nonconformist students were excluded from taking degrees, and were ineligible as Professors in the University.

The power of visitation, centred in the Bishop in the early days of the University, obtained, of course, over the Grammar Schools after, as well as before, the Reformation. The basis of this visitation cannot be better expressed than in a passage from a book on Secondary Schools by Christopher Wase[1]. There are two kinds of Visitors—special and general. Special Visitors[2] are some gentry by the designation of the founder, or three or four neighbour ministers, who from time to time preside over the 'solemn exercise' of the scholars and from their proficience estimate the abilities and diligence of the master.

The Bishop of a diocese is the general Visitor. 'Scripture suggests,' says Wase, 'this function, ancient Canons, the Canon Law, the Statutes of the Realm (23 Eliz., 1 Jac. 4, 14 Car. 2, Act of Uniformity) prescribe it, and it has been the practice of all Ages and places "Christian."' The Ordinary gives the licence to the schoolmaster and exacts his duty. On the other hand the Bishop 'with Commissioners by him engaged' vindicates school revenues 'detained by executors or interverted by trustees.' Thus the state scholastic, Wase sums up, has superabundant strength, which is vouchsafed by God, from 'the King's Majesty, the common Nursing Father of Public Schools, in his gracious Letters Patent; from the High and Honourable Court of Parliament in Laws made for their Immunity and Vindication; from worthy Neighbour and Worshipful Companies of the great City, their vigilant and faithful Governors, from many of the Nobility, Gentry, or

[1] *Considerations* (1678), p. 95.

[2] These correspond roughly to the later Examiners or Inspectors.

Neighbouring Ministers, often their special Visitors: lastly, from the Rt. Reverend their Diocesan, and spiritual Father, *always their general Visitor.*'

Whilst the ecclesiastical control of schools in earlier pre-Reformation times was absolute and unquestioned, yet as the non-ecclesiastical elements gathered strength, even in mediaeval times there were signs that side by side with the established order of things, the lay element was gaining slowly, almost imperceptibly at the time, a footing in educational arrangements. The Feudal System, leading to the consolidation of power of lords of the manors, brought barons into a position of possibility of contest with the clergy regular and secular in all social relations with the abbots of abbeys, and established a competition between the Church and secular authority in social affairs, which eventually touched educational institutions. The crusades, and the order of knighthood, and the training necessary for the military life and for court life, brought about a new standard of chivalric education, which entered into contrast with the education of merely ecclesiastical institutions. The consequence was that not only secular occupations became differentiated, but the training for life gave rise to institutions separated to some degree from the universal empire of the Church. The differentiation of warfare as a profession from the Church is a crucial factor in educational progress. Military development alongside of the various other social factors led to the establishment of the various Courts of Italy, and drew in its train the necessity for specialistic training, in which the Church could play comparatively but little part. The upbringing of youth in the households of nobles still further differentiated chivalric from ecclesiastical education. The development of trade and commerce through the contact and conflict of West and East, and through the various enterprises which opened up trade routes and led to interchange of ideas and skill, brought about Trade Guilds—and these, again, required specialistic instruction for apprentices,

and eventually influenced education, by providing schools of a general character, hardly to be distinguished from Grammar Schools. Mr Leach says with regard to the records which he publishes of pre-Reformation schools: 'Of the 33 Guilds mentioned, excluding the Craft Guilds of London and Shrewsbury and the Merchant Guilds at York, 28 kept Grammar Schools, and to these may be added the Drapers of Shrewsbury who kept a Grammar School, while the Mercers of London were trustees for three Schools mentioned, and the Goldsmiths for two[1].'

'The most remarkable thing about the growth of the new Grammar Schools,' says Mrs J. R. Green, writing of the 15th century, 'was the part taken in their foundation by laymen—by the traders and merchants of the towns[2].'

It seems important to note the introduction of the lay element into the government of schools, yet it must be borne in mind that the connexion, for instance of the Trade Guild itself, was very close with the Church, in the earlier stages. Complete severance from ecclesiastical oversight and support of some kind from the Church was only slowly effected.

Perhaps the statutes of Dean Colet's School (St Paul's) in 1509, whereby the government of his school was settled in the Mercers' Company, is the most decisive step which marks the incoming of the lay element, and for that reason, as well as for others, is a convenient starting-point for modern educational history. Examples of schools placed under the guidance of Companies are Platt's School of Aldenham under the Brewers,

[1] *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 34.

[2] *Town Life in the 15th Century*, II. p. 16. The instances given are Thomas Elys at Sandwich in 1392; Sir Edmund Shaa at Stockport in 1457; Sir John Percyvale at Macclesfield in 1502. As early as 1385 Lady Berkeley founded the Grammar School at Wotton-under-Edge. This school is regarded by Mr A. F. Leach as the first English school founded by any lay person.

the Holt School (Norfolk) under the Fishmongers, and Walwyn's School, Colwall, near Hereford, under the Grocers' Company, and even an old school like the King's School, Canterbury, came under the patronage of the Company of Leatherworkers[1].

The degree of autonomy which the Universities had won for themselves by the end of the 15th century suggested to the schools the value of association with one of the Colleges at Cambridge or Oxford[2].

The widening out of the connexion of the schools with the various Guilds, Companies, and Universities, and Municipal Corporations not only established the continuity of the schools, but introduced elements of general interest in the progress of education, and particularly brought into educational institutions the provision of finance, which, especially after the Chantries Act, was a matter of the utmost importance for national education. The individual 'pious founder' of schools after the Reformation has often been overrated. It is doubtful whether even in a period of educational activity like the Commonwealth the 'pious founders' did as much for education as the private schoolmasters like Lloyd, Farnaby, Hoole. But the latter class had no element of permanence, no Corporation behind them. Whether Public or Private[3], however, it is essential to note in the period 1500–1660, that no school was outside of ecclesiastical influence. A school at the latter end of this period might be outside of ecclesiastical control, in the sense of not being financed by the Church, but its very existence had to be authorised, and its teachers had (theoretically) to be licensed by the Diocesan, and under whatever patronage of Company or University it might be, or without patronage, it was liable to visitation by the ecclesiastical authority.

[1] *Considerations concerning Free Schools*, 1678.

[2] Wase gives a list of over 30 Grammar Schools thus connected with Colleges at either Cambridge or Oxford.

[3] As to the evolution of the private schoolmaster, see Article on Teaching of Arithmetic, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1899.

Note.

The School in the Church-Building.

The closeness of the connexion between the Church and the school may be illustrated by instances in which the school was actually held within the church or its immediate precincts. Shakespeare's reference will be remembered :—

'Like a pedant that
Keeps a school i' the church.'

Reference on this point may be made to Fosbroke, *Encyc. of Antiquities*, p. 508 ; Thomas Wright, *Hist. of Domestic Manners*, p. 119 ; B. Thorpe, *Eccles. Institutions of Anglo-Saxons*, p. 475 ; Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 473 ; Evelyn's *Memoirs*, ed. Bray, I. 3 ; *Wilts Topographical Collections, Devizes*, 1862, p. 102 and p. 121 ; Blomefield, *Norfolk*, II. p. 748.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS. 1500–1600.

When Henry VIII made himself Head of the Church, some schools became in title the King's Schools, and were established by letters patent from the Crown. The Anglican Church took up the position of the Roman Church and asserted the old right of control either directly or indirectly—particularly as we have seen through the retention of licensing of teachers by the Bishop of the diocese, and by visitation of the schools by the Bishop. Accordingly, even in the schools established by private munificence, the provision is invariably made for direct instruction in the recognised national religion, and the Reformation politicians and ecclesiastics naturally used the schools for the training of future citizens as recruits in the service of the Reformed Church in its warfare against the old Church. Religious instruction therefore became as much a part of the curriculum after the Reformation as it was before, and the great fires of persecution under the Bloody Mary only intensified the strenuousness of the insistence on religious, not to say theological, instruction, especially in the direction of Calvinism, the theology which had permeated the thoughts of the English refugees at Geneva (during the Marian Persecution). On their return the refugees largely controlled the religious movements of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Modern Europe is said to have been begun by the splitting up of the spirit of individual nationality against the universal sway of a single Empire, and to have objectified itself in the

power of the state as against the Church. But it is to be remembered that in the view of Calvin a religious system, with a definite theological cast, was a constituent part of his idea of a state. For generations, therefore, in the countries which came under his influence, the idea of a separate state was, in short, a separate theocracy. This view held a strong hold over England, at any rate up to the fall of the Commonwealth in England, and it is impossible to understand the history of the schools and their curricula unless it is fully recognised.

The close connexion between the Church and the school would suggest that before the Reformation we might reasonably expect to find the systematic religious instruction of the people. From Anglo-Saxon times the Paternoster and Creed were prescribed by Canon to be learned by every man. Archbishop Peckham's Constitution at the Synod of Oxford (1281) required the priest, 'four times a year, to instruct the people, in the vulgar language, in the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the seven deadly sins, and the seven sacraments.' Orders of diocesan Synods extended the requirement to the teaching of these subjects to children. Abbot Gasquet has shown the large number of manuals that existed for this purpose in the pre-Reformation Church, though the well-known *Pierce the Plowman's Crede* (1394) shows that such instruction was sometimes greatly neglected.

Of the distinctively school text-books in religion, mention must be made of the *Expositio Sequentiarum* and *Expositio Hymnorum*.

Expositio Sequentiarum. In the mediaeval Church, after the reading of the Epistle, the Gradual and Alleluia were chanted. Preliminary to the reading of the Gospel, a procession was formed from the altar to the pulpit or rood-loft. This was slow and dignified and took up some minutes. To cover the interval it was usual, in the earlier times, to prolong the final *a* of the Alleluia after the Epistle by a run or cadence (called a neuma), and this was lengthened out to fifty

or even a hundred notes. This was the Sequence. About 851 or 852 A.D. Notker Balbulus, a monk of St Gall, composed *prosas*[1] *ad Sequentiam*—i.e. set words to the notes already in use. Others followed his example, particularly Adam of St Victor Paris. Altogether, there are above a thousand of these Sequences now known[2]. In the Sarum Missal there were 86 Sequences. The Sequences were often bound with the Hymns, and the two together, after the Sarum Use, were probably, together with the *Prymer* or *Primer*, the most widely circulated of early English printed books. There was an Exposition of the Sarum Sequences and Hymns, with an introductory epistle by Judocus Badius Ascensius, the Parisian printer. In his Introductory Epistle to the *Expositio Hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum, diligentissime recognitorum multis elucidatioribus aucta* (printed by Wynkyn de Worde), Ascensius wishes health to the youth of Great Britain, eager to acquire morals and virtue. 'Certainly,' he says, 'I praise you English teachers who particularly do not so cultivate literature as to forget religion.' In the *Expositio Sequentiarum*[3], again, he commends the English youth for combining sacred knowledge with their other studies, that which is useful on earth, and (as St Jerome says) that which will remain with them in heaven.' He continues: 'Proceed, best of young men, in these studies, and so that you may do so the more diligently, I have published these *Laudationes Dei* and elucidated them so that the Latin language may be learned along with sacred literature.' A gloss is provided with notes on the grammar and the order of the words for construing. An introductory specimen of the notes is given by Wordsworth and Littlehales[4].

[1] Collections of the *Prosae* have been made by Daniel, Mone, Neale, Gautier, Schübiger, Wackernagel, Morel, Kehrein, E. Misset, and W. H. I. Weale.

[2] *Old Service Books of the English Church*, Wordsworth and Littlehales, p. 209; *Sequences from the Sarum Missal*, by C. B. Pearson, Preface.

[3] Ascensius says of such compositions, 'some call them "sequences" and some "proses."'

[4] *Old Service Books*, p. 212; *ibid.* p. 211, note.

The *Expositio Hymnorum*, as Maskell[1] remarks, is 'merely' a school-book. The following is a specimen of the contents of the *Expositio Hymnorum*[2]. 'The first verse of a noble hymn which used to be sung at matins: Ales diei nunctius; lucem propinquam praecipit: nos excitator mentium: jam Christus ad vitam vocat. [Then follows the Exposition.] ¶ Materia hujus hymni est exhortatio Christi ad nos, ut surgamus vitiis, et adhaereamus virtutibus: et praemittit exemplum de gallo. Sicut enim gallicantus nos excitat vel vocat lucente die, sic Christus excitat mentes nostras et vocat nos per scripturas sacras, praenuntians quod est venturus judicare super justos et injustos. Unde bene dicitur: Surgite et vigilate, quia nescitis diem neque horam etc. ¶ Construe. Ales, i (id est) gallus nuntius diei, praecipit .i. praedicit lucem .i. diem, nobis propinquam Christus excitator mentium: Scilicet nostrarum vocat jam nos ad vitam .i. nunc vocat nos ad se.'

The *Expositiones Sequentiarum et Hymnorum* served, therefore, a double purpose as school-books. They familiarised the pupil with religious subject-matter, and at the same time practised him in Latin, especially oral Latin. So, too, in 1356, teachers were required to teach the *Horae*[3].

There can be no doubt that these books were amongst the most important of the school lesson books of the latter part of the 15th century. The latest edition of the *Sequences* in the British Museum is dated 1517. By that time classical authors could be read in print and Erasmus's school text-books, such as the *Adagia* and *Colloquia* and the *Copia Verborum*, could be obtained, and apparently the progress of the Revival of Learning required from the schools so much time for the consideration of the old Roman and Greek writers that the Exposition of the Sequences dropped off, crowded out, and, like the Christian writers later prescribed by Colet for St Paul's School, were

[1] *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, I. p. cxiii.

[2] This specimen is given by Maskell.

[3] See *Register of Bp Grandison*, ed. Hingeston-Randulph, I. p. 1193.

doomed to give way to the irresistible entry into the schools of the classical writers under the Renascence impulse.

We have seen that the Constitution of Peckham had laid down the religious knowledge that was to be taught the people. When the great change of the Reformation came royal Injunctions were issued to continue the system of teaching and ecclesiastical examination of the new doctrines. Nor is there any reason to doubt the continuity of the religious teaching in the time between Peckham and Henry VIII.

The Injunctions of Henry VIII and Edward VI on the subject are as follows:—

In 1536 Henry VIII ordered

> that the clergy take care that children be taught the crede, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the mother-tongue.

In 1547 Edward VI's Injunctions ran:—

> Item, that every holyday throughout the year, when they have no sermon, they shall immediately after the Gospel, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, in the pulpit, the Paternoster, the Credo and the Ten Commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart; exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same....

It is necessary, therefore, to give an account of some of the leading religious documents in their bearing on the curricula of schools.

It would be pressing too far the direct connexion between religious movements and controversies with school education to assert that the statements of new doctrine contained in such books as the Bishop's Book (or *The Institution of a Christian Man*) issued in 1537, or even the King's Book or *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England* in 1543, directly affected the schools in any great degree. Nevertheless, these

definite statements of the views to be held by those who allied themselves to the Protestant side filtered into the common notice of adults and children, in the numerous Primers, Catechisms, and other religious manuals which found their way into the class-rooms. Dean Colet, however, directed that the *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, i.e. the Latinised form of the book just mentioned, 'which that learned Erasmus made at my request,' should be one of the text-books used in St Paul's School. It is also enjoined by statute, at Witton School, Cheshire, in 1558. *The Book of Common Prayer* is required to be used in St Bees' Grammar School by statute dated 1583. Indirectly, the collection of twelve discourses or Book of Homilies[1] issued in 1547, and the later Homilies of Queen Elizabeth's reign, are to be regarded as educational documents, for, as will be shown later, boys were required to attend church and to reproduce afterwards in school as far as possible, or in summary, the sermons heard. Of more direct importance as school text-books are the Primer, the Catechism, and, of course, in parts or as a whole, the Bible[2].

The statutes of the Pre-Reformation School at Childrey (Berks)[3] state the qualifications required in the teacher. It shows the prevailingly ecclesiastical trend of the teacher's qualifications.

The incumbent was to be in every respect a moral individual, not a keeper of hounds or common hunter, or stirrer up of contention in the town of Childrey or parts adjacent. He was to be well skilled in grammar, to enable him to keep the Free

[1] Eton, 1548–9 (Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton*, p. 134). In Edward VI's reign the College 'lost no time in purchasing a book of the Homilies and a copy of the Communion-book.'

[2] For an account of the Catechism in school instruction see next chapter. Religious education in the schools, 1600–1650, is described in an excursus to Chapter IV on the Teaching of the Bible.

[3] *Home Counties Mag.*, III. p. 38, quoting from the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.*

School. He was to ask the children the Alphabet, Lord's Prayer, Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles' Creed (and all other things necessary to enable them to assist the priest in the celebration of mass), the Psalm *De profundis*, and the usual prayers for the dead. He was also to teach in English the fourteen articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, seven works of mercy, the five bodily senses, and the manner of confession. If any of his pupils should be 'apt or disposed to learn grammar' the priest was to instruct them 'after the best and most diligent manner.'

The Primer. The distinguishing feature of the *Primer* is that it is the lay-folks' service-book. It consisted partly of material taken from the *Horae* or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and many MSS. which are really Primers have been classed as *Horae*[1]. The *Horae* were services for private reading shorter than the Breviary, to be used at the seven canonical hours, viz. matins, prime, tierce, sext, none, vespers and compline. 'Many hundreds,' says Littlehales, 'perhaps thousands of instances occur of mediaeval allusions to the Prymer, Primer, or Primarium; but there are, I think, very few contemporary allusions to Books of Hours or *Horae*[2].' The earliest mention of the *Primer* given by Littlehales is from a Lincoln will 1323, but an entry in a list of books of 1294 (books in a law library of a certain Matthew of the Exchequer[3]), *unum Primarium*, is still earlier.

'Of all the books of the Middle Ages,' say Wordsworth and Littlehales, 'the Prymer was the most common and best

[1] Littlehales' *Prymer* in E.E.T.S. edition, p. xliii. Maskell explains that Latin texts bear the title *Horae beatae Mariae virginis ad usum ecclesiae Sarum*, but when translated into English parts of these *Horae* are joined with other occasional prayers. The English title is 'The Primer (of Salisbury Use, etc.).'

[2] Ibid. p. xliii.

[3] *Law Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1905, p. 400.

known[1].' They point out that the great number used and the value set upon them are indicated by the frequent bequests in mediaeval wills. But the Primer was not only a grown-up lay person's book. Either the whole or portions of it were learned by children. Littlehales[2] quotes from Archbishop Stafford's Lambeth Register:—

> 'Item, y wol and ordeyn that vii pore children[3] that wol go to scole to Oxonford or Cambrigge, and namely such as be kynne or god children to me, haue every of him vii nobyll by yere to scole durying the terme of vii yere, and say every day our lady matins and hours.'

University 'children' apparently had to say the *Horae*. As to the *Primer* we read in Chaucer:—

> 'This litel child his litel book lerninge,
> As he sat in the scole at his *prymer*.'
> *Prioress's Tale*, l. 72.

It is thought that the use of a similar book, perhaps even called by the name of Primer, extends back in England to Anglo-Saxon times.... 'Springing,' says Maskell[4], 'from early manuals of things necessary for all men to know and to do, the Primer passed on from age to age[5], gradually collecting now an office and then a prayer, at one time the penitential psalms, at another the litany, at another the dirge, until at last it arrived at the state in which, with little further alteration, it remained during the 15th and 16th centuries: always a known book, authorised and distributed by the Church of England.'

Henry VIII in 1530 issued a Proclamation against 'books of the Lutheran sect or faction conveyed into the City of London.' Amongst these was included the *Primer* in English.

[1] *Old Service Books in the English Church*, p. 249.

[2] *Primer*, E.E.T.S., p. xlvii.

[3] An unconscious testimony to the early age of University 'students.'

[4] Introduction, p. 2.

[5] Thus such titles as the 'Prymer of Salysbury Use' and the 'Prymer in Englisshe.'

A committee of Bishops about the same time drew up a list of prohibited books published abroad, and in these again was included the *Primer*.

It is instructive to read the views of Sir Thomas More on the introduction of these Lutheran *Primers* into England. He says[1]:—Amongst these imported books 'we have...the A B C for children. And because there is no grace therein, lest we should lack prayers, we have the *Primer* and the *Ploughman's Prayer* and a book of other small devotions, and then the whole *Psalter*, too. After the *Psalter*, children were wont to go straight to their Donat and their Accidence, but now they go straight to Scripture. And for this end we have as a *Donat* the book of the *Pathway to Scripture* in a little book, so that after these books are learned well we are ready for Tyndale's *Pentateuchs* and Tyndale's *Testament* and all the other high heresies. Of all these heresies the seed is sown and prettily sprung up in these little books before. For the *Primer* and *Psalter*, prayers and all, were translated and made in this manner by heretics only. The *Psalter* was translated by George Joye, the priest that is wedded now, and I hear say the *Primer* too, in which the seven Psalms are printed without the Litany, lest folks should pray to the saints; and the Dir[i]ge is left out altogether, lest a man might happen to pray it for his father's soul.'

Sir Thomas More's protest is against the imported Protestant Primer. But it appears that in 1534 a Protestant, or at least Reformed, Primer was printed and published by Marshall in England[2], reprinted in 1535, though suppressed on the complaint of Convocation. In 1539 followed Bishop Hilsey's Primer, under Archbishop Cranmer's supervision, and in 1545 appeared the King's Primer. In 1547 K. Edward's Injunctions required the King's Primer to be used for teaching youth, and forbade any other, whilst a Statute (3 and 4 Edward VI, c. 10)

[1] *English Works*, p. 921.
[2] Perry, *Students' Church History*, p. 107.

forbade the use of 'books called Antiphoners, Missals, Grailes, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Primers[1] in Latin or English, Couchers, Journals, Ordinals.' Exception was naturally made in favour of King Henry's Primer, which might be retained, the invocation to the saints being carefully blotted out. This Statute was carried into effect, for charges were brought against people of keeping Popish books in the latter part of the year 1547[2]. On the accession of Queen Mary we find a partial return to the old order of things. At Eton[3] in 1554 the reintroduction of the Sarum rites involved the purchase of various books—Kyries, Alleluias and Sequences.

With regard to all these books, it is well to note that they had an indirect bearing on the education of children in that, in the Cathedral Schools and in the Chantry Schools, it was the duty of the child to 'help a priest to sing mass' or 'serve' at mass, and attendance at certain services was prescribed. One of the parts especially retained in the Reformed Primers from the old pre-Reformation Primers was the use of graces before and after meals[4].

The intention of the post-Reformation Primer is explicitly stated on a title-page of one of the early editions: 'The Primer in English *moste necessary for the educacyon of chyldren*.'

The Primer, sent forth as authorized by King Henry VIII in 1545, was accompanied by an Injunction to both ecclesiastics and to lay people. This Injunction emphasizes the importance of knowing *in the vernacular* the Pater noster, the Ave Maria, the Crede, and Ten Commandments. And further, 'For the avoiding of the diversity of primer books...every schoolmaster in bringing up of young beginners in learning, next after their

[1] Hoskins traces as many as 29 different printed editions of the Primer between 1534 and 1547.

[2] See Littlehales' *Prymer* (1892 ed.), p. ix.

[3] Maxwell Lyte's *Eton*, p. 142.

[4] One of King Edward VI's Injunctions, 1547, was: 'All graces to be said at dinner and supper shall always be said in the English tongue.'

A B C now by us also set forth, do teach this primer or book of ordinary prayers unto them in English.'

No less emphatic is the article on the subject in the Royal Injunctions of King Edward VI in 1547:—'No teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer. And all those which have knowledge of the Latin tongue shall pray upon none other Latin Primer but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said Authority.'

So too King Edward VI's Commissioners' Injunctions to Winchester, 1547, required with regard to that school: 'That from henceforth the scholars shall use no other Primer, than that which is set forth by the King's authority, the Latin Primer for them that understand Latin, and the English Primer for them that understand not Latin. And yet notwithstanding, for him that understandeth the Latin, to use which of them he liketh best for his edification.'

Further documents connected with the Primer require notice. The large circulation can be inferred from the value attached to the Patents issued for the publishing of it. These are:

28 May 1545 (37 K. Hen. VIII). Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch had special patent for printing Primers both in Latin and English. In Mary's reign, apparently the patent fell to John Wayland.

3 July 1559. W. Seres[1].

Primers, books of private prayers. For his life-time. Obtained by the influence of Sir W. Cecil.

23 Aug. 1571. W. Seres with reversion to his son, William, for their joint lives. At the suit of Lord Burghley.

Assigned by the elder Seres about 1579 to H. Denham, who associating with him seven other young stationers paid an annual rent first to the elder, then to the younger Seres.

[1] Arber, *Registers of the Company of Stationers.*

The use of the Primer continued through the Tudor times. We find it required by the Commissioners to be taught at Winchester in 1547[1], and the Founder of Witton School in Cheshire in 1558 ordained: I will...that every scholar have and use in the Church his Primer, wherein is contained the Seven Penitential Psalms of the Passion and such like. It is one of the books mentioned by William Kemp of Plymouth Grammar School in 1588, in his 'Education in Learning,' as part of the school-work. It is recommended by Brinsley[2]: 'Thus they may go through their A.B.Cie, and Primer: Let them read them twice over. For a second reading is quickly done. The loss of time is inconsiderable, and the books are then known much better.'

Even in Hoole's *New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching School* published in 1660, written twenty years earlier, the Primer is mentioned as a desirable book 'from which to learn the Alphabet,' which, as we shall see, was prefixed to the Primer.

But the use of the Primer was to come to a sudden end. Established by Authority it could be disowned by Authority, and it met its doom as a School-book by the following Order of Parliament:

Thursday the 24th of Julii 1651
Resolved by the Parliament

> That all Primers formerly used in the time of Kingship in this Nation, be suppressed, and shall from henceforth be no further used in any School, either Publique or Private, within this Commonwealth.

Ordered by the Parliament, That this Resolve be forthwith Printed and Published.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

[1] Wilkins' *Concilia*, II. p. 456–7.
[2] *Ludus Literarius* (1612), p. 17.

Note A.

Authorities on the Primer.

The Old Service Books of the English Church, by Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales. London, 1904 (pp. 248—252).

The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer-Book, edited by H. Littlehales (Early English Text Society, 1895).

This gives from a text of about 1420—30 A.D. the English Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Evensong, Compline), the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead (Placebo), Dirige (Matins), Dirige (Lauds), the Commendations.

An essay is included in the book, by Mr Edmund Bishop, on the Origin of the Prymer. This takes the reader back to St Benedict of Aniane at the close of the 8th century and traces the growth of the collection of the parts contained in the Primer of the 14th century. The historical notes in this edition are very full, and deal with some of the most interesting aspects of the questions raised by the Prymer, though unfortunately they do not illustrate the specially paedagogic use of the Prymer.

The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages. In English, dating about 1400 A.D., edited by H. Littlehales. London, 1892.

The temporary introduction has interesting notes, but these are amplified in number and context in the edition named above.

Private Prayers, put forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, edited by the Rev. W. K. Clay for the Parker Society, 1851.

Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, Vol. III. Oxford, 1882.

Contains dissertation on the Primer, and a Text. This is a learned work, and contains a most carefully edited text.

Note B.

School Prayers and Religious Observances required by Statutes.

In undated statutes[1] (after 1155) made for the government of Warwick School, it is ordained that 'the Master of the Grammar School for the time being shall devote himself diligently to the information and instruction of his scholars in grammar; and when not engaged in teaching his scholars, shall be present at the services in the church in the stall assigned to him, on all feast days and feasts of nine lessons, and shall, as his office obliges him, read the sixth lesson on the said feasts, clad in a surplice or other proper habit. On greater feasts he shall wear a silk cope and fill the office of one of the four precentors in the choir and procession, as has hitherto been usual in the church. And the same master, every Saturday throughout the year, except during school vacations, shall carry in procession with his scholars in the Lady Chapel of the Church two wax candles of 3 lbs. weight, to be renewed once a year, and let them burn during the celebration of mass. We by no means wish that he should provide out of his own purse the habit to be worn in church, but should receive it out of the common fund.'

'The reference,' says Mr Leach[2], 'to the sixth lesson shows us that the schoolmaster was only obliged to attend services on the greater feasts. On ordinary days there were three lessons (lectiones) or readings; on lesser saints' days there were six lessons; but on the real "holy days," Sundays, and the greater saints' days there were nine lessons. They were curious little scraps of never more than three verses of the Scriptures in length. On Sundays the first three lessons were generally taken from the Bible, the rest being from commentaries or sermons on them. On saints' days the first three lessons generally told the story or legend of the saint, the rest being amplification or commentaries on it. They were interspersed with responds and verses being remarks or quotations supposed to be suggested by the story, which were sung.

'In fact the whole thing approached very near to a dramatic representation on the model of a Greek play, the lessons intoned being the play, and the responds and verses the chorus, as "the ideal commentator"; and it is out of them that the mediaeval and modern drama developed.

[1] See Leach, *History of Warwick School*, p. 63–4.
[2] *History of Warwick School*, p. 64.

'Thus on St Andrew's Day, the first saint's day of the Christian year, the lessons told the legend of his martyrdom on his peculiar form of cross "bound hand and foot as on the wooden horse," while the "response" to the first lesson consisted of the piece out of the gospels in which Christ calls him, and the "verse" of a repetition of the words, "Come after me and I will make you fishers of men." The responses and verses of the other lessons added bits of commentary on it or pious reflections. One of the chief reforms in the services at the Reformation was the lessons, connected pieces of the Bible being read in an audible voice. The change is justified in the preface to the Prayer Book by reference to "the decent order of the ancient fathers" having been altered "by planting in uncertain stories and legends, with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations and synodals."'

Religious Observances required by the Statutes of Eton College (1440).

'The Provost, the Fellows, the Chaplains, the Clerks, the Scholars, and the Choristers shall on rising say a specified antiphon, versicle, and prayer, and in the course of the day a psalm, with certain adjuncts. Matins of the Blessed Virgin shall be said by the Choristers in Church, and by the Scholars in the dormitories while making their beds before five o'clock in the morning. Certain other prayers shall be said by the Usher and Scholars in School, and, on the ringing of a bell, Scholars and Choristers shall alike repair to the Church, to be present at the elevation of the Host. After High Mass, about nine o'clock, those present shall say prayers for the souls of King Henry the Fifth and Queen Catherine, during the life of the Founder, and afterwards for the Founder's soul instead.

'Before leaving School in the afternoon, the Scholars shall sing an antiphon of the Blessed Virgin with certain specified versicles and prayers, and later they shall say the Vespers of the Blessed Virgin according to the ordinal of Sarum. The Choristers shall say the Vespers and Compline of the Blessed Virgin in the Church before the Vespers of the day. Towards evening they shall say the Lord's Prayer, kneeling before the great Crucifix in the Church, and sing an antiphon before the image of the Blessed Virgin.

'Further prayers shall be said by the Fellows, the Chaplains, the Clerks, the poor young men, the Scholars, and the Choristers, on retiring to bed.'

St Paul's School Statutes, 1518.

'The Chapelyn—

'There shalbe also in the Scole a preist that dayly as he can be disposed shall sing masse in the chapell of the Scole and pray for the children to prosper in good lyff and in good litterature to the honor of God and oure Crist Jesu. At this masse whenever the bell in the scole shall knyll to sacryng thenne all the children in the scole knelyng in theyr Settes shall

with lift upp handis pray in the tyme of sacrying. After the sacryng whenne the bell knilleth agayn, they shall sit downe ageyn to theyr lernyng.

'This preist sum good honest and vertuouse manne shalbe chosyn fro tyme to tyme by the wardens and assistence of the Mercery, he shall also lerne or yf he be lerned helpp to teche in the scole yf it shall seme conuenient to the hye Maister or ellis not.

'He shall haue no benefice with cure nor service nor no other office nor occupacion but attend allonly vpon the scole he shall teche the children the catechyzon and Instruction of the articles of the faith and the X commaundmentis in Inglish.

'His wages shal be viii^{li} by the yere and lyvery gowne of xxvj^{s} viij^{d} delyuered in cloth.'

Religious Observances, Bruton (*Somerset*), 1519.

'And it is ordeigned that the sd maister at his ffirst comying into his scoole every day in the mornyng shall with his scholars then gadred say devoutly and for the ffounders and benefactors of the same scoole and for thenecrece of the same scoole in vertue and in kunnyng this Psalme *Deus misereatur nostri*, etc. *Gloria patris* etc. *Sicuterat* etc. *Kyryeleyson xp'eleyson. Paternoster* etc. *Ave Maria* etc. *Et ne nos* etc. *Exurge D^{ne} adjuva nos et libera nos ppt. nomen tuum. D^{ne} Deus virtutem converte nos et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus. Dominus vobiscum*, if he be a prest and if he be noo prest but a layman then *D^{ne} exaudi* etc. *Oremus. Deus qui corda fidelium* etc. and this colett *Acciones nostras quesumus D^{ne}* etc. with oon *per Christum Dom. nostrum* and in like wise at their last departing fro the scoole every day the maister and his scolers the maister beyng present or els the scolers in th' absence of the sd maister shall sey the Psalme of *De profundis* with the comen suffragies wt. this orison: *Absolve quesumus D^{ne} animas ffamulorum tuorum pontificum parentum ffundatorum ac benefactorum nostrorum et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinclo delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent per Xtum Dom. nostrum Amen*[1].'

Prayers.

In Articles laid down in the Indenture founding *Manchester School* 1524.

The Master or Usher, which of them cometh first into the school in the morning shall say openly with the scholars there this Psalm: *Deus miseratur nostri* with a Collect, as they use in Churches Dominical days—

[1] *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, June, 1893.

and every night in such like manner, the Master or Usher to sing Anthem of our Blessed Lady, and say *De profundis* for the soul of the late Bishop of Exeter, Hugh Oldham, his Father and Mother (and for certain other persons named).

Mass.—Newark Grammar School Indenture, 1531[1].

That the sum of £10 be employed yearly, 'to find a secular Priest having sufficient connyng and learning, to teach Grammar freely to all persons and children at Newark, that will come to him.'

The said Priest for maintaining Divine Service shall every Sunday, Holyday and Festival in the Parish Church of Newark attend at Even Song, Mattins, Mass and Procession, except by lawful excuse, and there help to celebrate Divine Service, and shall daily pray for the Soul of the late King Henry the Seventh and Queen Elizabeth his wife and various others.

The Schoolmaster may be a layman, with preference to a Priest:

'To be diligent in his attendance, with his scholars, at Jhesus Masse in the Parish Church of Newark and all Holy days.'

Psalms. Skipton, 1548.

The Chaplain or Master immediately after entering the school shall say the Psalm, *Miserere mei Deus* which he shall not omit under the penalty of 20*d.* for each day—and if he shall wilfully omit daily for a Month, he shall be removed.

(He is required daily to enter and teach immediately after six in morning from March to October and October to March at 7 o'clock.) The Master is to be personally present in the Parish Church of Skipton every Sunday and Feast-Day, when there shall be service.

Prayers. East Retford, 1552.

Morning and night scholars to say or sing a Psalm of David and a specified Prayer.

Prayers. Oundle, 1556.

At seven o'clock in such form as Master thinks best. Again, at 5 or 6 o'clock according to time of the year, in such form as Master shall prescribe, devoutly kneeling on their knees, make mention always in their Prayers of the Church, the Queen's Majesty, the Realm, the Lady Laxton, and the Company of Grocers of London, their Governors.

Prayers. Witton (*Cheshire*), 1558.

I will that the scholars...thrice a day serve God in the school, rendering him thanks for his goodness done to them, craving his special grace that

[1] Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, II. p. 267.

they may profit in virtuous learning to his honour and glory, praying for the soul of their Founder, by name, and for the souls of his Father and Mother and all Christian souls—and once every week, that is to say on the Friday, to say the Seven Penitential Psalms with the Litany of Prayer and Collect, and every second Friday the Psalms of the Passion with Psalms of Mercy and *de Profundis* with a Collect at the end thereof—and once a year, that is to say on Jesus Day in the afternoon, in whose name this School is erected in the Parish Church aforesaid, to say the Dirigay and Comondasonay.

Prayers. Tonbridge, c. 1564.

Item, acknowledging God to be the only Author of all knowledge and virtue, I will that the master and usher of this my school with their scholars at seven of the clock do first devoutly kneeling on their knees pray to Almighty God according to the form by the Master prescribed (So again on departing at close of afternoon school at 5 or 6 according to the time of the year).

Prayers. Kirkby Stephen, 1566.

I will that every morning and evening at six of the clock, which are days for learning of scholars and keeping of school, the scholars by two and two and the schoolmaster shall go from the school-house into the Parish Church and there devoutly upon their knees before they do enter the choir say some devout prayer, and after the same they shall repair together into the chapel or choir, where I have made and set up a tomb and there sing together one of these psalms hereafter instituted, such as the schoolmaster shall appoint—so as every of the said psalms be sung within fifteen days together, viz. 103, 130, 145, 46, 3, 61, 24, 30, 90, 96, 100, 51, 84, 86, 45 and in the evening quietly to their lodgings: and if any of the scholars be absent at any time of the said prayers or psalms, the schoolmaster to do due correction for his or their absence.

Prayers. St Albans. Sir Nicholas Bacon's Statutes, 1570.

It is ordered that the said schoolmaster and children shall every working-day upon their knees in the school in the Morning, at the first coming say the Suffrages, the Lord's Prayer, and the Prayers before remembered—And every evening, before they depart the school, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed.

Prayers and Church. Sevenoaks, 1574.

The scholars shall daily at their coming to school in the morning and at their departure at night, and at such time as they go to play, say such Prayers as shall be appointed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace, written in a table and kept in the school for the same purpose.

And every Friday morning throughout the year go hear the Procession said or sung: and the same being heard, shall pray for the good estate of the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and give God thanks for the benefits bestowed upon them by their benefactors in such manner and sort as shall be prescribed in the said Table.

Prayers. Harrow rules, 1580.

The first thing which shall be done in the morning after they have assembled, and the last in the evening before they depart, shall be upon their knees with reverence, to say Prayers, to be conceived by the Master and by one whom he shall appoint, distinctly to be pronounced, unto whom all the residue shall answer—Amen.

Prayers. Sandwich, 1580.

Acknowledging God to be the only author of all knowledge and virtue, I ordain that the Master and Usher of this my school, or one of them at least with their scholars, at half-hour before seven of the clock do firstly, devoutly kneeling on their knees, pray to Almighty God, according to the form by the Master prescribed, on every school day.

Prayers. Order to Scholars' St Bees, 1583.

Both at their coming and departing they shall with audible and distinct voice say Prayers upon their knees, the Master and Usher joining with them, in such Form as shall hereafter be described and appointed. And when they depart from School (unless they have leave to play) they shall go two and two together, so far as their way lieth, without wandering and gadding out of Order.

Prayers. Hawkshead, 1585.

Certain godly Prayers 'to be said every morning and evening.'

Catechism and Prayers. Colwell near Ledbury, 1612.

I will that the schoolmaster do straightly [i.e. straitly] observe that there be praying and prayers made in the school twice every day at least, and that the children be regularly catechised.

Prayers. Coventry, 1628.

There shall be prayers daily used in this school both morning and evening, the Master or Usher being there present.

Prayers and Religious Teaching. Manners. Dronfield, 1579. *Also Chigwell*, 1629 [in the same words].

I ordain that the scholars do every morning upon their knees before they begin their Lectures, offer up their sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving to God, in such prayers and psalms as shall be appointed by me, that is to

say, that the Master in the morning do repeat orderly the Lord's Prayer, and after that *te deum laudamus*, the scholars answering him; and in the afternoon before they do depart, that the Master do repeat orderly the 113th Psalm, the scholars answering him. And that the scholars of the said School may be nurtured and disciplined as well in good manners as exercised in arts, I do charge the Schoolmaster and Usher, as they will answer it to God and all good men, that they bring up their scholars in the fear of God, and reverence towards all men, that they teach them obedience to their parents, observance to their betters, gentleness and ingenuity in all their carriage, and above all things, that they chastise them severely for their vices, viz. lying, swearing and filthy speaking; that men seeing the ende of virtue in their youth, may be stirred up to bless and praise God for their pious education.

Prayers, etc. Provost Rous: Rules for Scholars. Eton, 1646.

That scholars rise in the Long Chamber at five of the clock in the morning, and after a psalm sung and prayers used, sweep the chamber, as they were formerly wont to do.

That after supper they go from the Hall to the school, unless they be dismissed with leave and (be) then kept together till eight of the clock, at which time they are to repair to the Long Chamber, and after a psalm sung and prayers used, those that lie there not to stir out, and those that lie in any other chambers immediately to repair to them and not stir out.

That those who can write take notes of sermons and those under the Master render them to him and those under the Usher to him, the morning notes after dinner, the evening (notes) on Monday morning.

That they meet in the school on the Lord's day at seven of the clock in the morning for prayer and catechising to be performed by the schoolmaster.

Prayer. St Paul's School. Preces founded on text of 1655.

The Prayers arranged for saying beginning and end of morning and the same for afternoon, i.e. four times a day, and were so held till 1884.

Use of Church Catechism was prescribed at St Paul's School in parallel version in Greek and Latin. Greek version of Catechism and order of confirmation thought to be that of James Duport 1655.

See Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 153, and Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* II. 242, for influence of Erasmus's *Institutum*.

The above notes are taken from short Account of Latin Prayers at St Paul's School by J. H. Lupton (privately published) 1885.

Prayers. Wigan, 1664.

The Master or Usher upon the first meeting every morning, after a solemn prayer for God's blessing, shall cause a chapter to be read by any

scholar he pleaseth to appoint, and before their departure in the evening, they shall sing one of David's psalms, or a part thereof, as the Master or Usher shall appoint, and then conclude with prayers and thanksgiving; and hereof the Master and Usher are enjoined to take care that these religious duties be duly and diligently performed and attended by the scholars, as becometh such holy performances, to which end, the Master is to have a roll of all the scholars, which is to be orderly called over twice or thrice every week, that the absent scholars may be punished for their negligence, according as the Master and Usher judge meet.

Note C.

Church Attendance required by Statute from Grammar School Boys.

East Retford, 1552.

Masters to command and compel their scholars to come and hear Divine Service in the Parish Church every Sunday and Holiday.

Holidays. Connection with Church. Witton, 1558.

Reading of School Statutes in Church at every feast before the breaking up of the school.

St Saviour's School, Southwark. Orders, 1562.

The boys are to go to church in the choir on Sundays, holidays and other festival days with their psalm books and books of prayer and on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent to be present at the Litany or common suffrages, whilst on holy days the best scholars are to versify upon a chapter of the new testament.

Tonbridge, c. 1564.

Item, I will that all the scholars upon the Sabbath and holy days resort in due time to divine service in the parish church of Tunbridge, the Master or Usher or one of them at the least being present to oversee them. And I will that the master and usher do duely every Monday in the morning call to reckoning all such of the scholars as either absent themselves from the church or come tarde to it or otherwise use not themselves reverently there in prayer, every of them having a Prayer book in Latin or English according to the Master's appointment.

Oundle, 1566.

That all the Scholars upon the Sabbath and Holydays resort to the Parish Church of Oundle in the time of Common Prayer, the Master or Usher or one of them being present to oversee them that they do not misbehave themselves, and that each of them have a Prayer-book, either in Latin or English as the Master shall appoint.

Holiday tasks. Kirkby Stephen, 1566.

I will that on the holidays in the time of service at the church, the schoolmasters and scholars shall be there at the Divine Service and use devout and comely order without any talking or light demeanour. And I will that how many scholars soever have their abiding within the said Parish of Kirkby Stephen, they shall on the holidays and the half-holidays resort honestly to the school or church, whether the schoolmaster will lever, and there to apply writing, making of epistles, or other devout and virtuous endeavours and exercise, as the opportunity of the time and the schoolmaster's discretion shall appoint.

S. Olave's, Southwark.

An Order 1566 directed Master and Usher and scholars to go with boys to church Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays and remain until all service be done to help to sing the psalms and say the service.

1571–2 *Statutes, S. Olave's, Southwark.*

They were to be taken to church on Sundays and holidays 'and after any sermon...examine some to see what they bring away and to commend the good to their encouragement and so the contrary.'

Church going. St Albans. Orders devised by Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1570.

The said Schoolmaster and Scholars shall every Sunday and Holy day, repair unto St Alban's Church, and there shall continue from the beginning of Morning and Evening service to the ending of them, and there shall sit together in the Chancel or some other place of the Church as the Parson, Churchwardens and Schoolmaster shall agree. And shall after the Schoolmaster or Curate say some time during their abode there in the forenoon, kneeling on their knees, either immediately before Service, or in some other time during Service, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and Prayers for the Royal Foundress and the Benefactors of the School.

Going to Church. Book of Common Prayer. Note-taking. Dronfield, 1579.

I ordain that the Scholars do upon every Sunday and Holy-day in the morning resort orderly unto the School, and that they go from thence unto the Church, two and two in rank, that they carry their service book with them and answer the Versicles in the Psalms as the Clerk of the Parish

doth, that they kneel at such times of the celebration of Divine service accordingly as it is in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and that they stand up at the reading of the creed, and bow at the sacred name of Jesus; and that as many as be of capacity, do take in writing the notes of the Preacher's Sermons, and give account of them on Monday morning to their Master.

Harrow rules, 1580.

All the scholars shall come to Church, and hear divine service, and Scripture read and interpreted with attention and reverence; he that shall do otherwise shall receive correction according to the faults.

Sandwich, 1580.

I ordain that all the scholars upon the Sabbath day and holy days resort in due time to the School-house and from thence by two and two in order to go to divine service in the next Parish Church in Sandwich wherein English Service is used, the Master, if he be there, going before them, and the Usher, if he be there, after them; but one of them at the least being present to oversee them; And in like manner to depart by two and two out of the Church when the Master or Usher then present shall appoint them to depart. And, on every Saturday in the afternoon, before their going to Church, the Master and Usher or one of them with all the scholars devoutly on their knees, the Scholars aloud, to say one prescribed form of prayer, wherein shall be made mention of the Church, the Realm, the Prince, the Estate of the Town, and the Founder and his Posterity. And I ordain, that the Master and Usher duly every Monday or next School day after the Sabbath day, in the morning call to reckoning all such of the Scholars as either absent themselves from such coming to the Church, or from being at the Church, or come tardy to it, or otherwise use not themselves reverently there in prayer, every of them having a Prayer book in Latin or English according to the Master his appointment, and in that behalf to use correction as shall be convenient; and by the said Governors there be appointed in the Church, place convenient for the said scholars to be together, and not any other boys or children to be there amongst them, to the end their silence and other demeanour may the better be seen unto and reformed.

Houghton Grammar School (Durham), founded by Bernard Gilpin, 1574.

In his will: 'God's plagues upon all such as seek to withdraw any livings given to the maintenance of his holy gospel, and I trust I may boldly affirm that whatsoever is given to a godly grammar school is given to the maintenance of Christ's holy gospel.'

Statutes (probably written by Gilpin) re-inforced by Gilpin's Will (1582) dated 1582. Only extant copy of Statutes date 1658.

Church Attendance.

Scholars to frequent divine service on holydays with godly books to look on and for that purpose he shall read unto them the catechisms Greek and Latin appointed for all schools.

Hawkshead, 1585.

The Schoolmaster, Usher and Scholars, to use and frequent the Church upon the Sabbath-day and Holy-days, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and to sit together in some convenient place.

Heath Grammar School (*near Halifax*), *c.* 1600.

That upon the Lord's Day and appointed Holy-days they come reverently and in due time unto the Church, take a convenient place, hear attentively the Word of God, lay it up in their memories, abuse not those days in play or other vanities; they meditate of the Word and practice it in their lives, pray and praise God publicly in the congregation and privately in their own habitations.

Guildford, 1608.

Sabbath days and other holidays boys to go to church and take notes of sermons.

Sermons. By art. 79 *of the Canons Ecclesiastical of* 1604.

As often as any sermon shall be upon holy and festival days within the parish where they teach, schoolmasters shall bring their scholars to the church where such sermon shall be made and there see them quietly and soberly behave themselves; and shall examine them at times convenient, after their return, what they have borne away of such sermons.

Newport (*Salop*), 1656.

The Master and Usher shall take special care, that all the Scholars do constantly repair to Church every Lord's day morning and afternoon, and other days of public fasting and thanksgiving, and be placed together in the Church with or near unto the Usher, if so there be or hereafter shall be any convenient place so to do. And that they decently and reverently behave themselves under the public ordinances, and submit themselves to be publicly catechised as the Minister from time to time shall appoint them or any of them. And that one or more Scholars be appointed to view and take notice of such Scholars as shall be absent, or not decently behave themselves during the time of the public ordinances. And that every Monday morning, account shall be required by the Master of any so offending, who shall be corrected as the nature of the offence

shall deserve. And I do further order that every Monday morning, after reading of the chapter some convenient time be spent by the Master or Usher, or both, in calling the Scholars, or so many of them as they then well may, to give account of their profiting in the hearing of the word on the Lord's day before.

Bristol (*date of Rules?*).

For the due order of all the said scholars, their coming to Church or other public place of worship allowed by Law and reverent serving of God, it is ordained that every parent or householder within the city or suburbs, tabling[1] any scholars, shall cause to see all such their children or tablers to resort to Church or other public places of worship allowed by Law, every Lord's day, Morning or Evening at the public worship; and the Scholars of the Upper School and the rest or such as can write, shall bring the notes of the sermon on Monday morning; and such as cannot write, giving some other account thereof to the Masters respectively.

Woodbridge (*Suffolk*), 1662.

Convenient seats in the Long Gallery in the Parish Church of Woodbridge to be prepared for Scholars, who are to go to Divine Service.

Wigan, 1664.

The Master and Usher shall take special care that the scholars do constantly repair to the church every Lord's day, morning and afternoon, and other days set apart for God's worship, and to be placed together in the church, with or near the Master or Usher, if so there be, or hereafter shall be any conveniency procured so to do, and that they decently and reverently behave themselves during the time of public prayers and sermons.

[1] i.e. providing board and lodging for.

CHAPTER III.

THE TEACHING OF THE BIBLE. EXCURSUS ON RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE SCHOOLS, 1600—1660.

We have to start with the fact before us that the Renascence tended to draw attention away from the ecclesiastical and religious arena, to the ancient classics. It is true that to some thinkers like Colet the classics were chiefly of value in throwing light upon the gospels and early Christian times. On the other hand, in drawing up schemes of education, Erasmus in his *de pueris instituendis* and the *de ratione studii*, Sir Thomas Elyot in the *Gouvernour* (1531), and Roger Ascham in the *Scholemaster* (1571) do not, in any way emphasise the teaching of the Bible, nor even directly refer to it as part of the curriculum[1]. In Thomas Lupset's *Exhortation to Young Men* (1529), an educational treatise of distinct value in tracing the educational views of the Renascence we find the juxta-position of the New Testament, St Chrysostom, St Jerome, with Aristotle, Plato, Seneca. And this is characteristic of the Renascence spirit. It is the attempt to reconcile the so-called sacred and profane, and leads logically to the comparative method[2].

[1] Though Erasmus explicitly states that the schoolmaster himself should study the Sacred Scriptures in travelling through 'the whole circle of knowledge.'

[2] Erasmus, like Lupset, never left the Catholic Church. But the unwillingness to draw distinctions between goodness in the Church and out of it is seen where in the 'Colloquies' there is a reference to the saying of Socrates: 'Whether God will approve of our deeds I know not; but

Such tendencies lead into other educational directions than those associated with Luther and Calvin, whose followers, as Mark Pattison points out, made so clean-cut a division between the sacred Scriptures and 'profane' writers.

Yet there is no doubt in the mind of Erasmus as to the importance of the Scriptures in relation to all other writings. As he says in a famous passage:

'I would to God the ploughman would sing a text of the Scripture at his ploughbeam. And that the weaver at his loom with this would drive away the tediousness of time. I would the wayfaring man with this pastime would expell the weariness of his journey. And to be short, I would that all the communication of the Christian should be of the Scripture, for in a manner such are we ourselves as our daily tales are.'

The warm, enthusiastic catholic spirit of such words as these are in marked contrast to that of the man who would not lend Erasmus his copy of Suidas[1]. It is the readiness to communicate the best that is in him to all, even the ploughman, the weaver, the wayfaring man, that marks the in-coming of the modern spirit of education. Erasmus felt it, and such words as the above are a statement of it. He pleads for education to be given to the humblest, and is thus a leader in the modern democratical idea of education.

Nevertheless Erasmus's declaration is a long distance from the introduction of the vernacular Bible into the School-curriculum. For Erasmus's Paraphrase was a translation from the Greek of the New Testament into Latin. The first large printed book was the Bible. This is known as the Mazarin Bible, and was produced at Mayence c. 1451–54.

at least it has been our constant effort to please Him.' Erasmus makes one of the interlocutors say: 'When I read such passages as these, I can scarcely keep myself from saying, "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!"'

[1] When Erasmus was collecting his Proverbs for the *Adagia*, the ground of the man who refused the loan of the Suidas was that learned men would be held in low esteem if what had hitherto been their monopoly should be made public property.

Erasmus's edition of the Greek Testament with its Latin translation was issued at Basle in 1516. There were further editions in his life-time (he died in 1536) in 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535. Erasmus suggests that Christian Princes might compel all men to learn Hebrew, Greek and Latin, so as to read the Scriptures in the original[1]. As a temporary measure, Erasmus would be willing they should be read in the vernacular.

In 1525, Tindale produced the first translation of the New Testament into English. In 1536, Tindale was seized and put to death in Belgium under the Decree of Augsburg. Up to the date of his death twenty-three editions of his translation seem to have been produced abroad, chiefly at Antwerp.

King Henry VIII's objection had been to Tindale as a revolutionary Protestant. What he refused from Tindale, he accepted from Miles Coverdale. Nor were the Bishops unwilling. In the Preface to the *Institution of a Christian Man* (1537) they thank God for a King who desires to set forth among his subjects 'the light of Scripture.' Coverdale's Translation of the whole Bible was published in 1535. By 1537, another version consisting of parts of Tindale and of Coverdale, revised by John Rogers, and known by the name of Matthew's Bible, was published. This bore the indorsement 'set forth with the King's most gracious license.' This was published first by Nycolson, and afterwards in the same year by Richard Grafton and George Whitchurch. The latter edition has on its title-page: 'To be sold and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation, or Ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary.'

In 1538, came the Injunctions of Thomas Cromwell, as Vice-regent unto the King's Highness. This is the first official document recognising the English Bible, from the King who had been appointed Head of the English Church in 1536. It required a large copy of the Bible to be placed in every Church and exhorted every person to read it.

[1] Emerton's *Erasmus*, p. 425.

Cranmer's edition of the Bible followed in 1540. Between that date and 1547, the death of King Henry VIII, the parish churches were undoubtedly becoming equipped with 'the largest volume' of the English Bible. The activity of issues of the Scriptures was even more remarkable in Edward VI's reign. In his six and a half years' reign, as many as thirty-five different issues of the New Testament were published and fourteen of the whole Bible.

As yet there is only one indication of the entrance of the Bible into the schoolroom. This instance, however, is so important that the article of the Injunction which informs it must be quoted in full:

Injunctions of Commissioners of 1547 to *Winchester College*.

'From henceforth the Bible shall be daily read in English, distinctly and apertly, in the midst of the Hall, above the hearth where the Fire is made both at Dinner and Supper.

'That as well all the scholars and other coming to the School, being able to buy the New Testament in English and Latin, shall provide for the same betwixt this and Christmas next coming, to the intent that they may every Sunday and other Holy Day exercise themselves holie in reading thereof; setting apart all other exercises of profane authors, and that the warden and schoolmaster or such as the warden in his absence shall appoint shall diligently from time to time examine them of their exercise in this behalf. That the warden and in his absence such one as he shall appoint, shall henceforth every Sunday and Holy day, not being principal, or octaves of principal, immediately after Dinner read unto the scholars of this school some part of the Proverbs of Solomon, for the space of one hour, [after] which book indeed, he or his sufficient deputy shall begin the Book of Ecclesiastes, which also ended, they shall begin then again the said Proverbs: and so continue: the said Lecture to begin on this side Christmas next, viz., anno Domini 1547.

'Whereas four Bibles be appointed by the King's Highness' Injunctions to lie in the Choir and Body of the Church, it shall be lawful for the scholars to carry and occupy one of the said Bibles to and in the Hall and another of them in the school, so that they render them to the Church and choir afterwards.

'The Warden and schoolmaster in all lectures and lessons of profane authors shall confute and repeal by allegation of scriptures, all such sentences and opinions as seem contrary to the word of God and Christian Religion.'

Whilst every care was taken to secure the reading of the Bible in Church, with the exception of the Commission sent to Winchester, no official command seems to have reached the Schools as to the Bible.

But Cranmer had in hand the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Book of Articles*, the *Reformatio Legum*, the *Book of Homilies* and the *Catechism*. The Primer and the Catechism had the royal sanction for the Schools. Probably what had been done at Winchester with respect to the Bible would have been extended to other schools. At any rate, all the instruments of the Protestant *régime* came to a sudden break, with the accession of Mary, and the revival of the Roman Catholic supremacy. As far as the Bible was concerned, at the very beginning of her reign in 1553, Mary issued an Inhibition against reading or teaching the Scriptures in the Churches, and during her reign (1553–58) not a single edition of any portion of the Scriptures was issued in England.

It is necessary to introduce these details of the history of the Bible, to make clear the significant fact that in England up to 1558, the Bible had not received a lodgment as an instrument of general education. On her first progress through London Queen Elizabeth was presented with an English Bible, which she kissed, saying she would 'ofttimes read that holy book.' This might be taken as a sign of the great change in the position of the vernacular Scriptures. But it did not imply necessarily, her intention to approve of their free circulation. However, in 1559 Queen Elizabeth issued her Injunctions and these followed the Injunctions of King Edward VI of 1547, in requiring the Bible and the Paraphrases of Erasmus in English on the Gospels to be in every Church, and the Articles of Inquiry in 1569 of Archbishop Parker are similar to those of Cranmer in 1547. In 1587 Archbishop Whitgift wrote a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln requiring that the Bible should be placed in every Church, and any torn or injured copies should be replaced by new ones.

The years 1547 and 1587 are thus objectively marked by precisely the same ecclesiastical landmarks. But subjectively, the whole temper and spirit of the people were changed. By 1587, the English people were divided into Catholics and Protestants with a clean cut division such as was never known before or since. The wholesale fires in Smithfield, and the massacres of St Bartholomew in France, produced the most irresistible object-lesson in the pricelessness of religious sincerity and conviction. The uncertainty of earthly life was a ghastly truth that could only be made tolerable by the security of the promises of a life where the wicked ceased from troubling. The idea of Covenant with God threw the people upon the Hebrew conceptions of the Bible almost as firmly as on the Christian ideal of life, and all these thoughts centred on the Bible.

It must be remembered that the Fires of Smithfield were visualised in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* for the whole of the Stuart period. We read of John Wallington's mother: 'She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the Martyrs, and could readily turn to them.' The ordinary man, and the ordinary household were fascinated by the fires of persecution which had affected their own class and every class. The Elizabethan atmosphere of enterprise and initiative had secured a readiness to consider the new. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the new Religion. As the essence of tragedy is the purging effect on the emotions, the tragedies of Smithfield and the Massacre of St Bartholomew brought the 'purging' convictions of Puritanism and brought them as a popular force and national strain on the sterner side of the English character, notwithstanding all the charms of national poetry, drama, music, foreign discovery and commerce, in a different direction. Then again, the leaders of the new Puritan movement, the exiles from England in the reign of Queen Mary, were trained as Englishmen never had been previously trained in the religious

culture of foreign centres, Frankfort, Strassburg, Geneva, at a period when the influence of Calvin, Zwingli and Beza were at their height. The English exiles were brought into the current of the most living thought of the Continent, at a moment when it was the most Biblical in texture and content. The first objective result of this influence was the English Bible of 1560, 1561, 1568, 1569, 1570, etc., all published at Geneva. These Genevan versions were circulated in England right on till the middle of the 17th century. The insularity of Great Britain was broken down in theological and in scriptural matters; John Knox in Scotland, and Cartwright in England were, we may say, as Calvinistic as John Calvin himself.

The continental Protestants had realised the position of the Bible in the training of the young. As far back as 1524, Luther had asked the question: 'Is it not reasonable that every Christian should know the Gospel at the age of nine or ten?' His Translation of the New Testament[1] into the vernacular in 1522, had been the basis of Tindale's English translation.

The close relation of religious and biblical instruction to the school had been insisted upon by Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Sturm, Neander, Trotzendorf, and last but not least, Calvin. In fact, the school established at Geneva, under Calvin's guidance, by Maturin Cordier attempted to make a theocracy in the school as deliberately as Calvin aimed at a theocratic state for adults. God's will is to be substituted for man's will, and the divine law is contained in the Word of God. A boy interlocutor in Corderius's Colloquies asks: 'Canst thou prove these things (viz. what had been under discussion) out of God's word?' 'Why not,' says his friend, 'I pray thee bring me some sentences.' Whereupon his little friend sets them down 'in a little paper,' so as to give chapter and verse for his

[1] Made from Erasmus's Greek text, which had been published at Basle in 1518. It was in 1534 Luther's complete translation, including the Apocrypha, of the Bible appeared, though parts had been published earlier.

statements. So, too, when out for a walk in another Colloquy, a master practises the boys in capping sentences from the New Testament.

Corderius's Colloquies were first published in Latin in 1564, and in the same year translated into French. The book was translated into English by John Brinsley (at any rate) by 1614. An even still more strictly biblical book was the well known *Sacred Dialogues* of Sebastian Castalio[1]. It thus appears that the Schools concerned themselves with the contents of the Bible whilst teaching Latin, particularly in the lower forms. The very books used in English Schools were the books used in Geneva and Protestant Europe. The Genevan influence of Calvin permeated the school systems of Holland, of Huguenot France, and of Scotland (through John Knox). The English School system though not imitating the State organisation of Schools of Calvinistic countries, undoubtedly in the internal subject-matter, in scope and in method of inclusion of biblical topics, was transfused by the Genevan ideas.

To return to the Bible itself. It is unnecessary to trace the various translations current in England, beyond mentioning the Bishops' Bible, under the direction of Archbishop Parker in 1568 and the Authorised version of 1611. The Bible, however, was not definitely and officially fixed as a school subject till the Canons of 1604. By Article 79 of the Canons Ecclesiastical of 1604 the duties of schoolmasters with regard to religious training in scripture were laid down, upon days other than holy and festival days 'such sentences of holy scripture as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness' must be taught.

It may safely be asserted that the Statutes of Schools much more frequently include the teaching of the Catechism, Primer and A B C than they explicitly name the 'Bible.' The most important consideration was that the child should know the articles of his faith. But the knowledge of, say Dean Nowell's Catechism in the Middle or Larger form was a serious under-

[1] See further as to Corderius and Castalio, Chap. xx.

taking and made great demands on the knowledge of Scripture. The following, however, are representative references to Bible-teaching in Statutes.

East Retford, 1552.

The second form to be taught the Scriptures both Old and New Testament.

Hartlebury, 1565.

The Master and Usher shall instruct pupils in the true knowledge of God and His holy word as much as in them lieth.

Rivington Grammar School (*Statutes*, 1566).

If there be any number of scholars together in one house at board, everyone in course shall read often, when the household is most together, a chapter or some piece of the Scriptures, or other godly book, and the others shall diligently mark what is read, and everyone afterward repeat some one sentence of that which they have heard read; and though there be but one scholar in a house, yet he shall on the holidays, and long winter nights, and other idle times when most company is together, read somewhat of the Scriptures, or other godly book to the rest of the household where he is lodged. The master and the usher shall inquire diligently whether their scholars do these things, and see them duly corrected which do not.

St Bees' Grammar School (*Statutes*, 1583).

The New Testament is to be taught.

Heath Grammar School Statutes, *c.* 1600.

They (boys) must join with the Master and Usher both morning and evening in prayer for remission of sins, acceptation in Christ, direction by the Spirit to illuminate their understanding, enlarge their capacities, certify their judgments, and confirm their memories; and hear some chapters daily out of the Old and New Testament read publicly in the school with all reverence and attention, that they may repeat the principal contents thereof, if they be called forth by the Master; and sing daily some place of David in metre to the praise of God for all his mercies with feeling, understanding and spiritual rejoicing, with thanks unto God for the founder of the School, and the good benefactors.

The Heath Statutes are undated, but evidently are anterior to the following minute:

Heath Grammar School.

About 1603. Dr Farmer for Heath Grammar School, Halifax, procured

a fair English Bible in the largest volume for reading some chapters at ordinary prayers morning and evening[1].

Hertford Grammar School, 1616.

Likewise the Master and Usher shall interpret orderly and grammatically the allowed Catechism for Schools to the Scholars under their charge every Saturday and Feast Even and cause them that are able to construe a chapter in the Testament, Greek or Latin, and in all these things, (that there be no noise, talking or whispering one to another) the eye and ear of the Master shall keep continued watch over them, that they may be habituated in the ways of piety, and that God may bless their studies in learning grounded upon his fear, which is the beginning of wisdom.

Charterhouse (*Orders*, 1627).

Two boys shall weekly be appointed for reading the Chapters and saying Grace at every meal in both the Halls.

Newport School (*Salop*), 1656.

The first duty entered upon every morning after a short and solemn calling upon God by the Master, or in his absence the Usher, for a blessing thereupon, shall be the distinct reading of a chapter or some other portion of the Holy Scriptures by one of the scholars as the Master shall direct and appoint, and afterwards Prayer shall be put up unto the Lord for his further blessing upon their endeavours in teaching and learning, and before their dismission in the evening, they shall sing one of David's Psalms or a part thereof as the Master or Usher shall appoint, and then close the day with prayer and thanksgiving.

William Dell advocated[2] schools to be built *through all towns and villages where necessary* and that 'in the villages no women be permitted to teach little children, but such as are the most sober and grave. That in these schools, they first teach them to read their native tongue, which they speak without teaching; and then, presently, as they understand, bring them to read the Holy Scriptures.'

Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612) states the method of teaching the Bible. The boy is to go through the History of the Bible in Mr Pagit's book[3], which is in the form of a

[1] Cox, *History of Heath School*, p. 19.

[2] *Right Reformation of Learning in* 1650.

[3] As to Eusebius Pagit's book, *see* p. 65. Hoole's views on religious education including the Bible are given p. 63 et seqq.

catechism. If they take a page a night, they will find it easy and pleasant. The teacher is to show what virtues are commended; what vices condemned or 'what generals they could gather out of that particular; or what examples they have against such vices, or for such virtues; and thus examine them after the same manner so going over and over as the time permits, you shall see them come on according to your desire.'

In this teaching of Scripture history, a selection of the most suitable parts for children should be made. 'There are sundry parts concerning the Levitical Laws which are beyond their conceit, and so in divers other parts. For that should ever be kept in memory, that things well understood are ever most soon learned and most firmly kept; and we should ever be afraid to discourage our children by the difficulty of any thing.' The easiest should be taken first.

The first mention I have found of Bibles as a part of elementary education outside of the Grammar Schools, is a remark of Hoole with regard to Parish Schools in his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* (1660). He says: 'I heard lately related of a cheap, easy, profiting and pious work of charity which one did, in bestowing 40/- per annum towards buying English Bibles, which were to be given to those children in the parish that were best able to read them.'

The whole school round of religious observances, catechisms, primers, and Bible-reading show the permeation of the school work with religious instruction. The ecclesiastical organisation of the school in the Middle Ages had prepared the ground for a theological discipline in the 17th century. The old objective influences of a picturesque ceremonial religion gave way to a subjective biblical atmosphere, and the school was continuously cast in a religious mould. The line of continuity cannot be better marked than by saying that the Psalms were as deeply fixed in the imagination of the school boys in the one age as in the other.

This subject of the knowledge of the Bible must not be left without recurring to the pervading nature of English Puritanism. The English boy received Bible-teaching, I have tried to show, in his school. But as with music, in all probability the home-training was nearer and closer to the boys' consciousness than the school. 'England' says Mr J. R. Green, 'became the people of one book, and that book, the Bible.' And again, Mr John Morley says, 'the substitution of the Book for the Church was the essence of the Protestant Revolt.' Joined with the new emphasis on family life preached by Luther and accepted so naturally by those who modelled themselves anew on the Jewish prototype of a Christian theocracy, the Bible was the centre of family religious life, known by all members, read[1] aloud, morning and evening[2] at family prayers, the sign and seal of the profession of religion, in a religious age. Family and school education were at one, in the recognition of the importance of religion.

One further factor in the knowledge of the scriptures requires mention. In the Statutes of St Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark, for instance, the boys are at a certain stage to read the New Testament in Greek[3]. In 1627 Orders at Charterhouse School required the Upper Forms to be furnished with Greek Testaments for their use in the Chapel. In many schools they read the New Testament in Latin. In the schools where Hebrew was learned some chapters of the Old Testa-

[1] For illustrations of the influence of the Bible on the teaching of Reading, *see* Chap. x., Note A.

[2] Milton in his *Tractate of Education* (1644) refers to the 'nightward studies wherewith they [i.e. the pupils] close the day's work, under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon or the Evanges and Apostolic Scriptures.' In 1560, Laurence Humfrey in *The Nobles* similarly had said: 'But chiefly ken he Solomon's proverbs. The like accompt make he of David's Psalms.'

[3] Hoole says at the daily reading of the Scriptures Latin boys are to follow with 'their' Latin Bibles before them and the Greek boys with their Greek text.

ment were read in Hebrew[1]. The application of the learned languages to Biblical studies was to be found even in country schools.

Adam Martindale, in his *Autobiography* describes a schoolmaster at Rainford (c. 1636) who had been at the University five years, and pronounced his Greek in 'the University manner.'

'He examined us in the Greek testament; wherein he made us to observe the Hebraisms, Latinisms, and idioms. I heard once a confident scholar say, the Greek testament is perfectly free and clear from all dialects; but it is a great mistake, as our master would have told him, and is plain in the best edition of Pasor. He was also very notable at teaching us to observe all allusions in profane authors to the Sacred Scriptures, insomuch that anything leaning that way should hardly pass his observation.' In the Greek New Testament, which usually included a Latin rendering, there was a considerable choice of editors, Erasmus, Stephanus, Beza. Of Latin and English conjoint texts, there were Erasmus's Latin and Matthew's English; the Latin Vulgate and Miles Coverdale's English, and so on. The New Testament in Greek was first printed in England by T. Vautrollier in 1587; the first complete Bible in Greek by Roger Daniel in 1653. But it must always be borne in mind that there was in the 16th and 17th centuries relatively a much larger circulation of foreign school-books in England than obtains at the present time.

[1] Milton required the Hebrew tongue 'to be gained that the Scriptures be read in the original' by pupils. On the other hand, some Puritans did not see the necessity of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, particularly for girls. For instance, Sir Ralph Verney says in a letter of 1652 in reply to a girl who has told him that she will learn Latin, Greek and Hebrew: 'Good sweet heart, be not so covetous; believe me a Bible (with ye Common Prayer) and a good plain Catechism in your mother tongue being well read and practised is well worth all the rest, and much more suitable to your sex.'

Excursus on Religious Instruction, 1600—1660.

In Chapter II. on Religious Instruction in the schools 1500—1600, the change from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism was shown to have been reflected in the Schools, which played an important part in the new propaganda. From 1600—1660, the Puritan influence was equally clearly marked, and the Schools again were the training-ground for religious and theological inculcation. The most complete account of the subject of religious instruction in the schools of the period is given in Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* (1660), and this book in the experience of the writer stretches over the preceding thirty years, so that it may be taken as representative of the period. It will be seen that the Bible is the centre of the instruction throughout.

From Hoole we learn that

In the Fifth Form of a Grammar School, the teaching of Hebrew[1] formed part of the work as well as the learning of Greek. Before the day's reading of authors, Hoole requires that twelve verses at least be read from the Greek Testament.

From the Fifth Form, moreover, Nowell's *Catechism* or the Palatinate Catechism were expected, *in Greek*[2].

In the Fourth Form, the boys read *Buchanani Psalmi* and learn the *Assembly's Catechism*, and are already entered in the Greek Testament. 'Every morning,' says Hoole, 'they read six or ten verses, as formerly, out of the Latin Testament into English, that thus they may become well acquainted with the matter and words of that most holy Book; and after they are acquainted with the Greek Testament, they may proceed with it in like manner.' For the Greek Testament he recommends the *Lexicon Graeci Testamenti Alphabeticum*, lately completed

[1] *See* p. 62 and Chap. XXXII.

[2] *See* Chap. IV.

by Mr Dugard, head master of Merchant Taylors' School. Descending lower into the school, into the Third Form, we enter the domain of the usher[1]. Here we are still more astonished to find that Hoole suggests that children should buy copies of Gerard's *Meditations*, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation*, and S. Augustine's *Soliloquies or Meditations*, in Latin and in English, *or the like pious and profitable books*, and continually bear them about in their pockets to read 'at spare times,' in Latin and in English. It is true that this is with a view to the acquisition of Latin, but he chooses these books because they are religious. The Assembly's Catechism has to be known in English *and* in Latin in the Third Form. Moreover, he adds: 'If out of every lesson as they pass this little Catechism (i.e. the Assembly's) you extract the doctrinal points by way of propositions and annex the proofs of scriptures to them, which are quoted in the margent, as you see Mr Perkins hath done in the beginning of the book, and cause your scholars to write them out all fair and at large, as they find them in the Bible; it will be a profitable way of exercising them on the Lord's Day, and a good means to improve them in the real knowledge of Christianity.' Children in this Form are supposed to be between the years nine and ten. Mr Perkins' book referred to is entitled: *The Foundation of Christian Religion gathered into Six Principles. And it is to be learned of ignorant people that they may be fit to hear Sermons with Profit and to receive the Lord's Supper with Comfort* (1591).

In the Second Form, they began to learn the Assembly's Catechism first in English and then in Latin, but every Saturday morning, in addition, they were required to say, in English and in Latin, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments. In speaking of his First Form, Hoole lays down his position as to religious teaching. 'Now because all our teaching is but mere trifling unless withal we be careful

[1] 'The master,' as distinguished from the usher, taught in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Forms.

to instruct children in the grounds of true religion, let them be sure to get the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments; first in English, and then in Latin, every Saturday morning for lessons, from their first entrance to the grammar school; and for their better understanding of these Fundamentals of Christianity you may, according to Mr Bernard's little Catechism, resolve them into such easy questions as they may be able to answer of themselves, and give them the quotations or texts of scriptures which confirm or explain the doctrinal points contained in them, to write out the following Lord's Day, and to show on Monday mornings when they come to school.'

So far I have referred to religious instruction as part of the form work. But Charles Hoole treats of it further as a matter in which the whole school must be concerned. Every morning at the beginning of school work, and each afternoon at the end, an English chapter of the Bible is to be read. Every boy in the school is to take his turn at reading, and all the others are to attend reverently. The higher boys are to have a Latin text, and the highest will do well to procure the Septuagint in Greek[1]. Hoole remarks upon the advantage to clear and ready reading that this will be, but he evidently has in mind also that the pupils should learn the contents of the Bible. To learn as to the matter, he says: 'Mr Paget's [i.e. Eusebius Pagit] *History of the Bible* [briefly collected by way of Question and Answer—first edition 1613—often reprinted] will assist them herein, so they look upon it before the chapter be read; you yourself may do well sometimes to tell them what things are most remarkable in that present chapter. The scholars of the upper forms may do well to carry *Memoriale Biblicum* constantly in their pocket, by which they may be put in mind at all times what passages they may find in any chapter.' After the reading of the chapter, Hoole enjoins the singing of one of

[1] 'Especially,' Hoole adds, 'seeing that copies are to be had at a far cheaper rate than formerly, being but lately printed.'

the following Psalms, 1st, 62nd, 100th or 113th. Then followed the admonitions at the end of Nowell's *Catechism* and a hymn at the end of that book. Finally a prayer. It is also the duty of the master to encourage parents to see that their children read a chapter at home every night after supper.

So far for the week-days, in form and in school assembled. There are still the Sundays to be considered.

On Sundays Hoole would have the master meet his pupils at the school an hour before the Church service in the morning begins, and then instruct them in catechetical doctrines. The Scholars are then to sing a hymn and a prayer is to be said, after which the school marches orderly, two by two, to the church where seats are reserved, all within view of the master.

After the afternoon service the boys go to the school again, in like order. It is now the duty of the master to examine what they 'have heard or writ at the sermon.'

Hoole's course in this repeating of sermons must here be given in his own words:

'1. Let every one of the lower scholars repeat the text or a proof, or some little pious sentence which was then delivered. And these he should get either by his own attention at the church, or by the help of his fellows afterwards. For there should be no stir made in the church upon pretence of getting notes there.

'2. Those in the four middlemost Forms should mind to write the text, doctrines, reasons, uses, motives, and derivations, with the quotations of scripture-places as they are best able.

'3. Those in the highest Form should strive to write as much, and in as good order as possibly may be, yourself now and then hinting to them some direction.

'Then

'4. You may first cause one of your higher scholars to read distinctly what he hath written, and afterwards two or

three of other forms, whom you please to pick out; and last of all, let every one of the lowest form tell you what he hath observed of the sermon.'

Hoole's views, it will be observed, are sufficiently detailed, but in 1612, John Brinsley, in his *Ludus Literarius* had written in even greater detail. Brinsley urged that the youngest should be required to bring some notes of the sermon, or else to be taught by the older scholars, short sentences, such as '"Without God we can do nothing," "All good gifts are from God," or the like short sentences; not to overload them at the first.'

It seems highly probable that the custom of writing out the matter of sermons led, in some degree, to the development of shorthand. The Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer, in his article on shorthand (in the *Encycl. Brit.* 9th ed.) suggests that the first impulse to the cultivation of shorthand 'may possibly be traced to the Reformation.' The desire set in for the Protestant to remember the points of discourses so as to argue and maintain his position against the Catholic. As an example I may cite from Noah Bridges' *Stenographic and Cryptographic* ('The first laid down in a method familiar to mean capacities') published 1659, the year before the issue of Hoole's book. Bridges writes: 'Note the chief heads of sermons, and set in the margent of your paper the doctrines, uses, etc., together with the names of authorities ancient and modern.'

So, too, Job Everardt, in his *Epitome of Stenographie* (1658), recommends that in a sermon, a note be made of 'Interpretation, Proof, Example, Instance, Reason, Use, Motive, Metaphor, Collusion, Similitude, Comparison,' and the enlargement on each head be left to the memory.

Thomas Shelton, teacher of the art of *Zeiglographia* ('allowed by authority'), who wrote much and often on the subject, states that Dr Preston, Dr Sibbes, and Dr Day had their works preserved by shorthand, which thus 'caused them even to outlive themselves.' One sentence further (the edition of the

Zeiglographia from which I quote is dated 1659[1]) shows a deeper reason for the training of the young to take notes of sermons: 'And should the revolution of times bring forth such as the Marian Days (which God avert) when one small epistle of the New Testament was at the rate of five pounds, and one chapter sold for a load of hay, how precious then, notes of wholesome divinity (taken in this art, now in this harvest of the gospel) would be, both those that should have and those that should want them would know, though in a different manner, they would prove like the Jews' Manna on the Sabbath, when there was none to be gathered abroad.'

The practice of note-taking of sermons, therefore —arising from the Reformation, and facilitated by the growing number of text-books of shorthand-writers, —was not only taken up by adults but permeated the schools, or, at any rate, those of them conducted by such men as Hoole, in the time of the Commonwealth.

In fact, the religious education of the period shows the keenness and intensity of conviction which was handed down as the heirloom of the generations which had just gone through the throes of the Reformation. The closeness of the work of the teachers with that of clergymen was recognized not only in the combination of the two functions in the same person, but also in the common recognition of the new-born liberties brought, in the age of the Reformation, to theology and to literature, and the pressing necessity of passing them on to the children.

[1] The preface of the book from which the passage comes is dated 1649, though Shelton claims to have invented the art thirty years. It was probably written, therefore, in 1619.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CATECHISM.

We have seen that in 1545 the Authorised Primer had been provided, but the catechism was rather a summary of the leading categories of the Christian faith whilst the Primer was the devotional expression of the religious sentiment in the right terms and with the right traditional forms. The short forms of both Primer and Catechism are text-books for elementary pupils. But the educational methods differ. The Primer is the service book, adapted for all intelligences. The Catechism is essentially a testing of the learner in his knowledge of Christian doctrine. The Catechism of the Prayer-book is drawn up, as were all the shorter Catechisms, on the supposition that the shorter a book is, the easier it is to learn. Elementary is confused with elemental. Later on one of the most keenly debated of paedagogical problems centred round the question of the value of abridgements, summaries and compendia. But in theological teaching, it was early decided, that the schools required both larger and smaller catechisms. This was almost as clear as the need that some should be in English and some in Latin. The paedagogical principle underlying the provision was held to be adaptation to the stage of the progress of the pupil. It was soon discovered that merely telling from the pulpit or the desk was not teaching, and recourse was had to a text-book in the old catechetical method. This method could claim an honoured tradition, for it had been used in the early Church, though often the questions were asked by the learner

and answered by the Catechist. Forms of catechetical instruction were given by St Augustine and St Cyril[1]. It has not been sufficiently emphasised that the catechetical method is, after all, only another form of the disputation so prevalent in the Middle Ages, though in religious catechisms the questions and answers do not correspond to oppugnor and defendant, but are constructed with a view to clear exposition of the particular tenets to be taught. Seeing the disputational traditions of the whole body of learners in the past it was only natural when the Reformers sought for an instructional method in the new religious tenets, that the child should be 'apposed' (as is required in the Prayer Book of 1549) by the Bishop. For that was the school-method in other subjects[2], and it was an old Church practice. 'The master opposeth (i.e. apposeth) the scholar to see how he hath profited, and the scholar rendereth (i.e. answereth) to the master to give accompt of his memory and diligence' says Thomas Norton in the Preface to his translation of Dean Nowell's Latin Catechism. Norton notices that other writers of Catechisms had adopted the method of inquiries by the scholar and teaching by the master[3]. The object of the Catechism is adequate preparation for confirmation by the Bishop, who simply apposes. It is therefore reasonable that a Catechism should adopt the Bishop's method. The First Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1549 and it contains the Catechism under the title 'Confirmation wherein is contained a Catechism for children,' and with the Rubric requiring 'all fathers, mothers, masters, and dames shall cause their children, servants and prentices (which are not yet confirmed) to come to the church at the

[1] Christopher Wase urges that for origin we should go further back—viz. to the 'Child Jesus found in the Temple sitting in the midst of the Doctors both hearing and asking them questions.'

[2] Particularly it should be observed that the school grammar of Donatus, in the shorter form, the *Ars minor* or *Aeditio secunda*, is in the form of a Catechism.

[3] As in Erasmus's Catechism.

day appointed, and obediently hear and be ordered by the curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.'

There is great difference of opinion as to the compiler of the catechism as it originally appeared in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549 (and in 1552) before the addition of the portion relating to the Sacraments.

It is a significant fact that two of the names suggested as the author of this Catechism wrote longer Catechisms, Poynet, and Nowell. John Poynet was appointed Bishop of Rochester in 1550, and in 1553 wrote his Short Catechism, which, however, was considerably longer than the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, in 1570 published, a longer, a middle and a short Catechism. It is easy to see how the term 'Short' Catechism given to each of the catechisms of the two authors Poynet and Nowell, has paved the way for the suggestion of each of them as the writer of the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer. The points of resemblance between the acknowledged short Catechism of each of these writers, and the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer, can largely be accounted for by the fact of going over the same ground, from the same point of view, so that it cannot be said with any confidence that similarities even of expression are more than accidental. The testimony of Isaac Walton is cited in favour of Nowell, of whom Walton says[1] 'The good old man, though he was very learned, yet—knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many or by hard questions —like an honest Angler, made that good plain, unperplexed Catechism, which is printed with our good old Service Book.' The biographer of Nowell, Churton, observes that Isaac Walton 'had conversed with those who had conversed with Nowell,' but this can hardly be accounted strong evidence. On the other hand, Walton, not being a scientific investigator, would be inclined charitably to believe all good things of so distin-

[1] *Complete Angler*, pt. 1, Chap. 1.

guished a fellow-angler as Nowell. Archdeacon Blunt[1] mentions Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, as a possible writer of a portion of the Prayer-book Catechism, but the evidence is not convincing. The question of authorship must be regarded as open.

There is no doubt (as will be seen from the statutes of schools, e.g. Retford in 1552 and Caistor 1630), that the Prayer-book Catechism was used in the schools. But it was regarded from the school point of view as preparatory to a more complete and adequate religious Catechism or Manual of religious instruction.

The Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer, it must be understood was an absolute minimum, and might therefore be rigorously required from all. The method of its use parochially may be gained by reading the section on the subject in George Herbert's *Priest to the Temple*, and Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*. It was not enough for anyone who professed to be a scholar. It was for the ignorant, i.e. the non-learned. There were also more distinctively

School Catechisms.

In 1527, Colet included a *Cathechyzon* in his Coleti *Æditio* or *Accidence*, and in 1547 Erasmus's Catechism had been ordered to be in the possession of every boy in Winchester College. The Warden or deputy was every Sunday and holy-day to read some portion of it proving every article by scripture and 'to exercise the scholars at such time therein.'

The title of Erasmus's Catechism in the English translation was: 1533. *A playne and godly exposition or declaration of the comune Crede (which in the Latyn tonge is called Symbolum Apostolorum) and of the x comaundementes of goddes law, newly made and put forth by the famouse clerke, Mayster Erasmus of Roterdame, at the requeste of the moste honorable lorde, Thomas*

[1] *Annotations to the Prayer-book*, ed. 1903, p. 428.

Erle of wyltshyre: father to the moste gratious and vertuous Quene Anne wyfe to our moste gracious soueraygne lorde Kyng Henry the VIII.

(Printed by Robert Redman, London 1533.)

From a literary point of view, Erasmus's Catechism is interesting, but when the Protestant Reformation was accomplished it naturally fell into disuse and the next year after the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552), an Authorised Catechism was issued in Latin and in English entitled as follows:

A short Catechism, or playne instruction, conteynynge the summe of Christian learninge, sett fourth by the King's majesties authoritie for all Scholemaisters to teache.

'To thys Catechisme are adjoyned the Articles agreed upon by the Bishoppes and other learned and godly men in the last convocation at London in the yeare of our Lorde MDLII for to roote out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agrement of trew religion: likewise published by the Kinge's maiesties authorities. 1553. Imprinted at London by John Day with the Kinge's most gracious licence and priveledge: Forbidding all other to print the same Catechisme.'

The injunction which accompanies and authorises this Catechism, written by Bp Poynet requires schoolmasters 'all and each to truly and diligently teach this Catechism in your Schools immediately after the other brief Catechism which we have already set forth.' It was not destined to wield the influence contemplated. With the accession of Queen Mary, in the same year as the publication of Poynet's Catechism, Poynet himself had to escape to Strassburg[1], and his Catechism was a dangerous book to possess, at any rate till after 1558.

It was not till 1570 that Dean Nowell's Latin Catechism was published.

[1] Where he died in exile 1556. Curiously enough Nowell also went to Strassburg in Mary's reign though he moved on to Frankfort.

At least seven editions of this Catechism were printed between 1570 and 1580.

In 1570, in the same year that the Latin text was published, an English translation was made by Thomas Norton (who also translated Calvin's Institutes into English). This is entitled:

A Catechism, or first Instruction and learning of Christian Religion. Translated out of Latine into English. At London. Printed by John Daye dwelling ouer Aldersgate. Cum Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis per Decennium. A.D. 1570.

This, then, is the 'larger' Catechism of Nowell. The abridged form of it known as the Middle Catechism, was published in Latin in the same year as the Larger Catechism, 1570.

The Middle Catechism was translated into English by the same translator as the larger Catechism, Thomas Norton, in 1572, as:

A Catechisme, or Institution of Christian Religion to be learned of all youth next after the little Catechisme: appointed in the booke of Common Prayer. London, John Daye. 1572.

It was translated into Greek in 1573 by William Whitaker, who had translated the Book of Common Prayer into Greek in 1569.

There was still a third transformation of Nowell's Catechism: his smaller Catechism which was published in 1572.

Catechismus parvus pueris primum qui ediscatur proponendus in Scholis.

This, also, was translated into Greek by Whitaker in 1574.

The close resemblance of this shortest form of Nowell's Catechism to the Prayer-book Catechism constitutes, of course, the real ground for the conjecture that Nowell was author of both. It is incontrovertible, that it is Dean Nowell's Catechism in one form or another, that took the chief position as the school manual of religious instruction in the latter part of the 16th and in the 17th centuries. For instance, in Canon 79 of the 1604 Canons: in the requirement

'All schoolmasters shall teach in English or Latin, as the children are able to hear, the longer or shorter catechism, heretofore by public authority set forth—,'

there is no reason to doubt that the larger Catechism referred to is Nowell's as sanctioned by the Canons of 1571.

Wase in 1678 mentions Nowell's Catechism, as taught in St Paul's School by local statutes, Ursinus's Catechism, translated into Greek by Henry Stephens, with the Praxis of Birket used elsewhere with good success, and the church Catechism, which no other ought to exclude. 'It is required of every one that is matriculated a Member in either University to subscribe the Articles of Faith and Religion, which supposes him to have been informed in them either by his Minister or Schoolmaster.'

The return of the Protestants from Strassburg, Frankfort, Geneva, whither they had fled from the Marian Persecution, brought England into much closer connection with Protestant Europe, and consequently with Continental books. Luther's Catechism, both larger and smaller, in 1529 had begun the long series of catechetical manuals. It is claimed by Lutheran writers that no book except the Bible has had a wider circulation. It was written in the vernacular.

The Geneva Catechism was written in the French language in which Calvin was so finished a writer, though he immediately translated it into Latin. It was published in 1538. A crowning glory of Calvin's Catechism was its translation into Greek in 1551 by Henry Stephens, who earned for his translation the precious compliments of Melanchthon. Probably Nowell was influenced by this work[1]. In 1563, was issued the Heidelberg Catechism, whose chief author was Ursinus, student of Melanchthon and friend of Calvin. 'It is,' says Schaff[2], 'an acknowledged masterpiece with few to equal and none to surpass it.' This commendation loses its paedagogic value, when he goes on to say 'Its only defect is that its answers are mostly too long for the capacity and memory of children.'

The English Church thus followed the example of the

[1] Jacobson, *Nowell's Catechismus* (1844), p. xxx.

[2] *History of Creeds*, I. p. 540.

Lutheran and other Protestant Churches in the adoption of Catechisms. Nor was it easy to exclude the continental works. Various foreign Catechisms, especially Calvin's, were reproduced and circulated, in different forms in England. 'The more popular catechisms,' says Cardwell[1], 'of the Helvetic reformers such as Oecolampadius (1545), Leo Judas (1553), and more especially Bullinger (1559), had been adopted by many teachers and occasioned much complaint as to the want of a uniform system of religious instruction. Even in 1578 when the deficiency had been corrected by the publication of Dean Nowell's *Catechisms* and the exclusive use of them had been enjoined in the Canons of 1571, the Catechisms of Calvin and Bullinger were still ordered by Statute to be used as well as others in the University of Oxford.'

The Roman Catholics followed the lead of their Protestant opponents, and as a counterpoise, in 1566 produced their long Catechism of the Council of Trent.

It is a book of religious instruction for the clergy. Schaff[2] describes it as marked by 'precise definitions, lucid arrangement and good style.' It has been translated into all the languages of Europe, and though minimised by the Jesuits has held its own as an authoritative Roman Catholic Catechism. It has, however, been supplemented by many local and special Catechisms, also allowed by authority in the Roman Catholic Church. The only other Catechisms which need here be mentioned are the Westminster Catechisms, larger and shorter, 1647, of which it has been said[3] 'These are inimitable as theological summaries; though when it is considered that to comprehend them would imply an acquaintance with the whole circle of dogmatic and controversial divinity, it may be doubted whether either of them is adapted to the capacity of childhood.' This was compiled by the Assembly of Divines and presented

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, I. p. 266.
[2] *Creeds of Christendom*, I. p. 101.
[3] By McCrie quoted by Schaff *Creeds*, I. p. 785.

to both Houses of Parliament. The short Form has exercised the strongest hold on the affections of adherents of Calvinism, especially in Scotland. The place of the Assembly's shorter Catechism in English Schools particularly of the Commonwealth period seem to be best indicated by Charles Hoole, who requires it to be learnt in English and in Latin in the second, third and fourth forms, whilst in the fifth Nowell's Catechism or the Palatinate Catechism is to be required.

At the end of this chapter is given a list of Catechisms on sale by a bookseller in 1595. Two points may be gathered from its perusal. I. The comprehensiveness of the use of the term to cover all sorts of religious manuals. II. The extreme diversity in spite of the fact of the attempt to compel an authorised Catechism. In illustration of this may be cited the fact that Coote, in his English Schoolmaster, 1596, includes an unauthorised Catechism for religious instruction, as part of the outfit of the elementary pupil. We have, too, the opinion of King James I at the Hampton Court Conference[1] who criticised the number of 'ignorant' Catechisms set out in Scotland, suggesting that they were written by 'everyone who was the son of a good man.' Adam Martindale[2] shows us how they were circulated broadcast. Ministers met together and argued how best to pursue the work of personal instruction. 'Multitudes of little catechisms we caused to be printed, designing one for every family in our parishes, and to all or most they were accordingly sent.' So, Jeremy Taylor, when schoolmaster at Golden Grove in South Wales issued a Catechism for children. A reference to Andrew Maunsell's Catalogue[3] 1595, to Wm London's Catalogue of Vendible Books in 1658, will show the great variety of Catechisms throughout the period 1548–1658. Hugh Peters in 1660, in 'A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an onely child' says: 'Though

[1] Fuller's *Church History*, Vol. v. p. 284.

[2] Autobiography (Chetham Society's Publications), p. 122.

[3] p. 83.

there are near an hundred several Catechisms in the Nation, yet (if sound) they must speak one thing, viz. 'Man lost in himself, redeemed only through Christ.'

During the Commonwealth period, in the higher forms of Grammar Schools Nowell's Catechism was used, and in the lower forms probably there was a considerable variety. At the establishment of the Charity Schools, in the early years of the 18th century 'the Church Catechism was required to be used in the 2000 schools which came into existence through that movement[1]. This probably considerably consolidated the position of the Prayer-book Catechism, and has helped to obscure the multitude of other Catechisms in vogue, at earlier dates.

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[1] As is shown in *The Christian Schoolmaster* by James Talbot, 1707, which gives instructions to Charity School teachers.

Note A.

School Statutes re Catechisms.

St Paul's Statutes, 1518.

I will the children learn first above all the Catechism in English, and after the Accidence....And then *Institutum Christiani Hominis* which that learned Erasmus made at my request.

Erasmus's *Institutum Christiani Hominis* was included by Statute, as a book of instruction in St Paul's School, London (1518) and in Witton School, Cheshire, 1558.

(*K. Edward VI's Commissioners' Injunctions to Winchester*, 1547.)

That every Scholar of this Foundation and other coming to the School shall provide with all convenient expedition, for Erasmus's Catechism, wherein the Warden or his sufficient Deputy every Sunday and Holy day, shall read some part thereof, proving every article thereof by The Scripture and exercise the Scholars at such time therein.

East Retford, 1552.

The Master or Usher shall cause one of their Scholars every Sunday to read the Catechism in English openly and distinctly in the body of the said Parish Church of E. Retford between the Morning Prayer and the Communion as well for their own instruction as for the instruction of other young Children in the said Parish.

Oundle School founded 1556. *Statutes.*

That Mr Wardens of the Grocers do, from time to time, provide a good Schoolmaster, whole of body, of good report, and in degree a Master of Arts, meet for his learning and dexterity in teaching, and right understanding of good and true religion set forth by public authority, whereunto he shall move and stir his scholars, and also shall prescribe unto them such sentences of holy Scripture, as shall be most expedient to endue them to Godliness; and shall teach the Grammar approved by the Queen's Majesty, and the Accidence and English Rules, being learnt in the first Form; to teach in the Second, Mr Nowell's little Catechism; and in the third form, his large Catechism.

Rivington Grammar School Statutes, 1556.

On Saturdays and Holy Day Eves, the Usher shall exercise his younger sort in learning their short Catechism in English in the Common Book, and the same days to all sorts the Master shall read Mr Nowell's or Calvin's

Catechism, taught in Calvin's Institutions, willing the elder sort both to learn it by heart, and examine them briefly the next day after, when they come to School again, before they go to other things, how they can say it, and shall commend them that have done well, and encourage others to do the like.

Witton (*Cheshire*) *Statutes*, 1558.

'Mine intent is by founding this School specially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian Life and Manners in the Children, and for that intent I will that the Children learn the Catechism, and then the Accidence and Grammar set out by King Henry the Eighth, and then *Institutum Christiani Hominis* that learned Erasmus made.'

Orders. Merchant Taylors', 1561.

They (the Masters) shall have no benefice with cure, occupation, office or service, nor any other faculty which may let their diligent teaching at the School, but they shall attend only upon the School, and they shall teach the children, if need be, the Catechism, and Instructions of the Articles of the Faith and the Ten Commandments in Latin; that is to say, such a Catechism as shall be approved by the Queen's Majesty that now is, and by the Honourable Court of Parliament of this Realm from time to time.

Dronfield, 1579.

I ordain that the Schoolmaster every Saturday afternoon, do call the Scholars before him, and that till three of the clock he catechise them in the principles of our Christian religion, according to the order of the book of Common Prayer, that they may by this means be seasoned and prepared to receive public instruction by way of catechising from the Vicar in the church.

Religious teaching and Catechism. Harrow rules, 1580.

Every scholar shall be taught to say the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, and other chief parts of the Catechism and principal points of Christian Religion, in English first, and after in Latin, and upon Sunday and holidays, the Master shall read a Lecture to all, or the most part of his Scholars, which he shall think meet to hear thereof, out of Calvin or Nowell's Catechism, or some such other book, at his discretion, and the School shall not break up at any great feast in the year for any longer time than the space of one week, besides the holidays, which holidays also shall not be spent without this Lecture and Instruction in the things before mentioned.

St Bees, 1583.

The Schoolmaster for the time being shall have authority to appoint some poor Scholar, that understandeth his Grammar, and can write a reasonable hand, to be his Usher under him; who shall teach the children to read and write English, and to say by heart the Catechism in English set forth by public authority, with the additions, and the Accidence, and when they are able to learn construction they shall be admitted into the Master's School.

Grindal and St Bees Statutes, 1583. (See Strype's *Grindal*, p. 463.)

'The Schoolmaster shall teach the children the greater as well as the lesser catechism[1], set out by authority and no other catechism, except public authorized.'

Guildford Statutes, 1608, though written earlier.

Saturday afternoon School ended at 4, and was devoted to learning the Catechism probably Nowell's, in Latin or English from one till 3 o'clock, and 3 to 4 the boys learned and practised writing for the mending of their hands.

Chigwell, 1629.

I ordain that the Latin Schoolmaster, every Saturday Afternoon, do call the Scholars of both Schools before him, and do catechise them in the Principles of our Christian Religion, According to the Order of the Book of Common Prayer, that they may by this means be seasoned and prepared to receive public instruction, by way of catechising from the Vicar in the Church, which *I more desire than the seasoning them with learning*.

Westminster School. (Archbp Laud's transcript of studies, 1621–8.)

Sundays.

Upon Sundayes before morn^g prayers (in summer) they were commonlie in the schoole (such as were King's scholars) and there construed some part of the Gospell in g^r or repeated part of the G^r catechisme: for the afternoone they made verses upon the preacher's sermon, or epist. and gospell. The best scholars in the 7th forme were appointed as Tutors to reade and expound places of Hom^r, Virg., Hor., Eurip., or other g^r and and lat. authors; at those times (in the forenoone or aft^rnoone or aft^r beaver times) wherein the scholers were in the schoole, in expectation of the M^r.

[1] This seems to be Dean Nowell's Catechism approved in Synod, 1562.

Caistor, 1630.

The said Schoolmaster and Usher...on every Saturday Afternoon from one of the clock to three and at such other times as they shall think fit, to teach and instruct their scholars in the rudiments of Religion, as the Catechism used in the Book of Common Prayer, Nowell's Catechism, or other Catechism and the construing of chapters in the Greek or Latin Testament.

Newport (*Salop*), 1656.

And to the end that catechising being of such singular use, for the training up of youth, in the knowledge of the Oracles of God, may be the better carried on, I do hereby order that the Master or Usher, or one of them, shall spend one hour at the least every Saturday in the afternoon throughout the year in catechising of the Scholars, teaching them first The Assembly's lesser Catechism, and as any of the Scholars have been sufficiently acquainted and instructed in that, and shall grow to maturity and ripened in judgment, to instruct them in the said Assembly's larger Catechism; and if any of the Scholars shall wilfully and stubbornly offend in any of the premises after these admonitions, it shall be lawful for the Master, with the advice and consent of three or more of the Visitors to expel and eject the said offender or offenders from the said Freedom.

Wigan, 1664.

[They shall] submit themselves (i.e. the Scholars) to be publicly catechised as the Rector of Wigan or his curate shall from time to time appoint; and that one or more Scholars be appointed to view and take notice of such Scholars as shall be absent, or not decently behave themselves during the time of public prayers and sermons, and that every Monday morning, account shall be required by the Master or Usher of any so offending who shall be corrected as the nature of the offence shall deserve. And it is further ordained, that every Monday morning, after reading of the chapter, some short convenient time shall be spent by the Master or Usher, or both, in calling some Scholars at one time, and some at another, to give an account of their profiting on the Sabbath day before; and to the end that catechising being of such singular use for the training up of youth in the knowledge of the oracles of God, and may be the better carried on, the Master or Usher, or both, shall spend one hour at least, every other Saturday throughout, in catechising the Scholars.

Bristol, ? date.

The Master and Usher shall catechise their Scholars upon Saturdays in the Morning, making use of Nowell's Catechism, Latin and Greek in the Upper School; and the Church Catechism, in Latin, for those of capacity; and in English for the rest of the School.

Note B.

Maunsell's List of Catechisms, 1595.

Andrew Maunsell was the first English bookseller who issued a book-catalogue (1595). The list contains books of religious instruction which we should not include in the term Catechism. On the other hand, there is no doubt that school instruction in religion was by no means confined to the Catechisms and Primers.

As to catechisms, it would be simply a huge task to enumerate the various editions of the catechisms issued between 1540 and 1660. Even before 1600 the number was large, as will be seen by Maunsell's list, and by 1660 the list was enormously increased.

The following are the entries under the head Catechism in Andrew Maunsell's Catalogue (1595):

Edmund Allen (1550), Bartimeus Andrews (1591), Jeremy Bastingius (1591), William Burton (1591), Swithin Butterfield, Theodore Beza (1578), S. S. (1583), one printed by Hugh Singleton (1579), R. Bird (1595), Tho. Cranmer (1548), Calvin's Institutions, abridged by Lawne, his Catechism (1592), Wm Cotes (1585), John Craig Scot (1591), Fred. Count Palatine (translated, 1570), Rob. Cawdray, Tho. Cobhead, one printed for John Harrison (1582), Richard Cox, one printed by assignees of Rich. Day, C. W. (1584), translation from the French by George Capelin (1581), one in three parts (Of the Misery of Men in themselves, Of the happiness of those that believe, Of the Duties we owe to God) printed by Hugh Singleton (1582), E. C., translation by Rob. Legate, M.A. (1592), Edward Dering, Arthur Dent, Jo. Darison, An Exposition printed by Caxton, Stephen Egerton (1594), A Free Schoole for God's Children by J. R. (1593), Dudley Fenner (1592), John Fountein translated by T. W. (1578), George Gifford (1586), John Gardiner (1583), Alex. Gee, Patr. Galoway, John Gibson (1579), Wm Hopkinson (1583), John Hooper, Wm Horne (1590), And. Hiperius translated by I. H. (1583), Rich. Jones, Schoolmaster of Cardiff (1589), one translated by Doroth. Martin (1581), D. W. Archdeacon (1586), Rob. Linaker, Io. Morecraft (abridgment of Ursinus, 1586), Miles Moss (1590), Tho. Michelthwait (1589); *A necessarie Doctrine and erudition for any Christian Man Set forth by the King's Majestie of England*, printed by John Mayler (1543); Alexander Nowell (translated into English by Thomas Norton), *His brief Catechism* (1587); Rob. Openshaw (1582), Gasp. Olenian (translated by Rich. Saintbarbe, 1589), Wm Perkins (1592), Palsgrave (translated by Wm Turner, 1572), Eusebius Pagit (1591), Tho. Pearston, *Preparation to the Lord's Supper* by T. W.;

Preparation to the Way of Life, etc., vid. Hopkins; John Parker (1592), T. Robart's *Catechism in meeter* (1591), Tho. Ratliffe (1594), Christopher Shutte (1584), Tho. Settle; *Sum of Christianitie*, containing eight propositions, printed by Rob. Robinson (1585); *Summarie of Principles of Christian religion* by Swithin Butterfield (1582), Richard Saintbarbe, Short Catechism printed by Christopher Barker, one printed for Thomas Man (1590), Thomas Sharke and John Seddon (1588), Tho. Sparke Doct. Some (1583), John Tomkis *On the Lord's Prayer* (1585), Zach. Ursinus (translated by Henry Parry, 1595), Catechism abridged by John Morecraft (1586), abridged by John Seddon; Math. Virell, *Treatise containing all the principall grounds of Christian religion* (1594).

For further illustration of the importance of catechisms historically in the work of instruction, see in William London's Divinity Books, alphabetically digested, one of the sections of his catalogue (1658).

Note C.

The Printers of Catechisms.

The Right of printing the Catechisms was determined by Patent.

John Daye's licence in 1552 allowed him to print the Catechisms of Edward VI in Latin and English. In 1553, Reginald Wolfe[1] was granted the privilege to print the Latin Catechism, whilst John Daye was restrained to the English Catechism with a brief of the A B C attached, together with the books of John Ponet and Thos Becon—so long as these be not in any wise repugnant to the holy scriptures or proceedings in religion and the laws of the realm.

When Nowell's Catechism first appeared Wolfe printed the Latin edition and Daye the English translation, both forms of the work appearing in 1570.

Daye protested. On this dispute there is a note in Cecil's papers:

Item. that where one Daye hath a privilege for the Catechism and one Reyne Wolfe, who hath a former privilege for Latin books, they may join in printing of the said Catechism. It was settled that Wolfe should be allowed to print the Latin and Daye the English.

But the matter seems to have been settled in Daye's favour in 1577.

[1] Who had held the patent for printing books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew from 1541.

John Daye and his son Richard, and to the survivor, Aug. 6. 3rd Privilege 1577:

'Psalms of David in English metre with notes to sing them;

The A. B. C. with the little catechism appointed by our Injunctions.'

The Catechism in English and Latin of Alexander Nowell and all other books written or to be written by Nowell and all other books written by any learned man 'at the procurement cost and charges of the said John Day and Richard or either of them, so that no such book or books be repugnant to the Holy Scripture or to the Laws or order of our Realm.'

It is to be noted that R. Wolfe had died in 1573.

There is an account of the infringement of Daye's monopoly in 1582.

Roger Ward set his journeyman and apprentices to print as many as 10000 copies of the A B C with the little Catechism appointed by Her Highness' Injunctions for the Instruction of Children (having Daye's Arms or trade mark). See Report of Star-Chamber case, Feb. 7, July 10, 1582, reprinted Vol. II., p. 753—767, in Arber's Registers of the Stationers' Company. Incidentally, the account indicates a large circulation of the Catechism and the value of the monopoly.

As the bibliography of Nowell's Catechism is somewhat complex, the following account of Brit. Mus. editions may be of use:

Reginald Wolfe, printed the Latin text in 1570, 71, 72. The title is:

I. *Catechismus, sive Prima Institutio Disciplinaque Pietatis Christianae Latine explicata.*

II. Ibid, with Latin text, together with a translation into Greek by by William Whitaker.

Reyner or Reginald Wolfe died in 1573.

John Daye published Nowell's Catechism in six forms.

I. The Larger Catechism in English (translated by T. Norton), 1570.

Between 1570 and 1575 there were six editions.

II. The Latin text (as in Wolfe I. above), 1574, 1576, 1580.

III. The small edition—*Catechismus Parvus* in Latin and Greek 1574 and 1578.

IV. The middle edition, called by Greek title and *Christianae Pietatis prima institutio ad usum Scholarum Graece et Latine Scripta* [also translated by W. Whitaker] 1575, 1577, 1578.

V. Ibid [with Latin text only] *ad usum Scholarum*, 1581.

VI. *A Catechism or Institution of Christian Religion, to bee learned of all youth next after the Little Catechism: appointed in the Booke of Common Prayer*, 1583.

CHAPTER V.

THE TEACHING OF LOGIC—AND THE METHOD OF DISPUTATIONS.

THERE can be little doubt that Logic was regarded in the Middle Ages both as a school subject and as an University subject. As Mr Leach says, after the separation of the Grammar School and the University, the trivium (of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) fell to the share of the Grammar School. At Warwick Grammar School, for instance, apparently logic followed grammar[1].

If we bear in mind that the students of the early Universities included quite young boys, and that the first studies were the trivium, it is clear that logic in an elementary form would be an early preparatory study for the disputations which would be the main academic aim before them. The 17th century requirements of the University from the student in his preliminary training were greater than those of the earlier centuries, for the development of the grammar-demands were intensified whilst rhetoric was second only in its urgency to grammar. Accordingly logic was gradually crowded out from the Grammar School course.

Logic, however, held its place in the training of a 'gentleman.' Thus, Lawrence Humfrey says in the *Nobles* (1561): 'Rhetoric and Logic are necessary to file the talk, whet the wit and imprint order, wherewith Aristotle, the prince of pleading and reasoning, instructed his Alexander.... This much shall make

[1] Leach, *Warwick School*, p. 78.

the noble a good reasoner. Besides the art of words, he must be stuffed with store of matter.' Sir Humphrey Gilbert, c. 1572, provides in his scheme for the education of the Queen's Wards, a teacher of logic and rhetoric who shall on certain days weekly, 'see his scholars dispute and exercise the same and shall be yearly allowed therefor £40.' Castiglione, in the *Courtier*, requires his Courtier to be trained 'to be able to allege good and probable reasons.' Sturm in his *Nobilitas Literata* (Englished by T.B. 1570) lays down as necessary 'some knowledge of logic and rhetoric.'

Returning to the schools, even when not laid down by Statutes, the old practice of teaching logic, evidently survived. Bacon, for instance, protests that Logic and Rhetoric are studies more suited for graduates than for the children who 'usually study them.' Even as late as 1677, Dr John Newton in his *English Academy*, 'intended for the instruction of young scholars who are acquainted with no other than their native language,' includes Logic as a subject to be taught. By private tutors fresh from the University, naturally boys were taught logic. Mr Crowther, for instance, sends Ralph Verney, a set of notes on logic and other subjects and advises the boy to give three or four hours a day to logic and divinity. Lord Herbert of Cherbury in his *Autobiography* states that he was sent to Mr Newton at Didlebury in Shropshire, and when between 10 and 12 years of age he studied the Greek tongue and *logic*.

Though logic was thus passing out of the school curriculum, partly through the multitude of departments which the revival of learning brought into classical studies, and partly because of the reason given by Bacon, viz., its greater suitability for a more advanced stage than that of the school age, in the first half of the 17th century, it fully sustained its position in the Universities. Perhaps the best way to realise its position there, is as Mr Mullinger suggests, to recognise that Logic held the place in the Universities, now accorded to Mathematics.

The Logic up to the time of the introduction of Ramus, at Cambridge in the latter part of the 16th century (and continuously at Oxford, which was always on the whole anti-Ramist) was that of Aristotle, but it was Aristotle's Logic with notes and comments of the old logicians and metaphysicians. Ramus considerably changed the outlook where he was adopted. In the first place his Logic was comparatively short and easy. The attempt to be popular, however, was never a merit in academic eyes, and he was attacked for this very characteristic. Secondly, his Latin was good: it was praised by Scaliger. Thirdly, above all, to minds bent on reform, Ramus was the protagonist of his day against scholasticism with all its verbiage and subtlety, and lack of interest in the search for truth. Mr Mullinger shows that Ramus's Logic was adopted in both the Lutheran and the Calvinistic centres[1]—a great triumph.

In 1588 Abraham Fraunce published his *Lawyers' Logic*, a book intended to adapt Ramus's Logic to the purposes of the lawyer, or shall we say, to the students of the Inns of Court, and for the general reader, particularly gentlemen who had a taste for poetical examples, of which Fraunce's book constituted an anthology specially gathered from Sidney and Spenser. Fraunce states that Sir Philip Sidney encouraged him to produce a work in 'easy explication of Ramus his Logike.'

The account of Logic teaching in England presented by Fraunce, in the Preface, even when founded on Ramus, is not altogether pleasing[2], for it seems to have led to marked superficiality.

[1] *History of University of Cambridge*, Vol. II. p. 410.

[2] So, too, Peacham (1622) says: 'When they (boys of 12, 13, 14 years of age at the University) come to Logic and the crabbed grounds of Arts there is such a disproportion between Aristotle's Categories, and their childish capacities, that what together with the sweetness of liberty, variety of company, and so many kinds of recreation in Town and Fields abroad,... they might as well go gather cockles with Caligula's people on the sand as yet to attempt the difficulties of so rough and terrible a passage.'

The books of Logic, once separated from the old traditions of authority, developed in two directions, first into a direct relation with rhetoric, so that frequently a text-book was furnished with logic and rhetoric together, and secondly into a determined effort to regard material truth as of equal, if not as of superior importance to formal truth. It was in this aspect that Logic appealed so strongly to the puritan divines. Probably in the later 17th and earlier 18th centuries, Logic was no where studied more thoroughly, and more usefully than in the famous Nonconformist Academies, for the training of ministers and of Nonconformist youth of the upper and middle classes.

What had been done by Fraunce for lawyers in providing a text-book on logic, was done by others for the minister of religion and student in Calvinistic theology. Two of the best known were the text-books by Dudley Fenner (1584) and by Thomas Granger (1620). Fenner has more regard to his specialistic purpose than Granger; his arguments are all taken from Scripture or theology, whilst Granger mixes his scriptural examples with others taken from Vergil, Ovid, Catullus, Cicero and even from the Institutes of Justinian.

John Webster in his *Examination of Academies* (1653) says: 'As Logic is now used in the Schools (i.e. of the University) it is merely a civil war of words, a verbal contest, a combat of cunning craftiness, violence and altercation, wherein all verbal force, by impudence, insolence, opposition, contradiction, derision, diversion, trifling, jeering, humming, hissing, brawling, quarrelling, scolding, scandalising, and the like, are equally allowed of and accounted just, and no regard had to the truth, so that by any means, *per fas aut nefas*, they may get the conquest, and worst their adversary, and if they can mangle or catch one another in the Spider Webs of sophistical or fallacious argumentations, then their rejoicing and clamour is as great as if they had obtained some signal victory.'

Milton complains of the Universities presenting to 'un-

mathematical Novices at their first coming the most intellective abstracts of Logic and Metaphysics.' He reserves to the end of his proposed course 'those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place withal, her well couched Heads and Topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate Rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.'

Striving towards a psychological basis, Dury[1] speaking of school-teaching confirms Milton's view. 'The Arts or Sciences which flow not immediately from particular and sensual objects but tend immediately to direct the universal acts of reasoning, *must be taught after the rest*; because their use is to regulate that, which is to make use of all the rest, viz., the rational faculty; therefore it is a very absurd and preposterous course to teach Logic and Metaphysics, before or with other human sciences, which depend more upon sense and imagination than reasoning.'

More simply and generally put, is Comenius's statement 'I have already convincingly demonstrated that before we treat of the relations of things we ought to consider the concrete thing itself, i.e., matter before form.'

The schools, therefore, in the 16th and 17th centuries, were in a transition stage with regard to Logic. The greater number found grammar and rhetoric satisfy all their dialectical needs. Yet, William Kemp[2] in 1588, lays down, in his *Education of Children* as *Third degree of schooling: Logic and rhetoric.* He prescribes *three years' study*, between the ages of 13 and 16 years. He includes in the school course, precepts concerning the divers sorts of arguments in Logic. Tropes and figures in the first part of Rhetoric. To this study

[1] *The Reformed School*, 1650.
[2] Of Plymouth Grammar School.

one-sixth of his time is to be given, all the rest of the time to be given in learning and handling good authors; e.g., Tully's *Offices*, his *Orations*, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Vergil's *Æneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace. These books will afford examples of hardest points in Grammar, arguments in Logic, tropes and figures in Rhetoric.

Kemp thus attempts to make the trivium valid by incorporating grammar, dialectic and rhetoric in the reading of authors. More specifically, however, at Heath Grammar School (near Halifax) the Master was required by Statute to enter his boys into Logic. Logic, however, in Brinsley's view, is too serious a discipline for the school. 'Above all,' he says, 'let there be a chief regard of the Universities, as unto which the Grammar Schools are ordained principally, for training up young scholars to furnish them; and that they have all their honours and prerogatives reserved most carefully unto them. Of which sort these disputations in Logic and Moral Philosophy are.' The school may have an 'order of disputation,' but the 'strict concluding by syllogisms' belongs to the University.

The method of Disputation was a recognised school method in the Middle Ages, and implied at least an elementary knowledge of Logic. There was a close connexion between University methods and school methods of teaching. The Mediaeval University may be regarded as a University Training College for Teachers. The degree of Master or Doctor was substantially the University Diploma of a teacher who had been *trained as a teacher*, and carried with it usually a licence for teaching in any place. As a teacher, the chief work of the Mediaeval Master of Arts may be described as that of training his pupils to dispute syllogistically. Hence the Disputation was a general school method, up to the time of the Renascence, and remained so as a survival through the 16th and 17th centuries. Vives points out that the Disputation had been constantly regarded as the best method of impressing the knowledge gained in studying the Seven Liberal Arts, and in turning them to use,

and further, that in earlier times it had served the purpose of the elucidation of truth, to the inquiring pupil.

There is extant an account of the 12th century Disputations in London Schools[1], which met in three principal churches on holidays. 'There the scholars dispute; some use demonstrations, others topicall and probable arguments. Some practice enthymenes; others are better at perfect syllogisms. Some for a show dispute and for exercising themselves; and strive like adversaries; others, for truth, which is the grace of perfection.' In Dean Colet's Statutes of St Paul's School (1518) the boys were forbidden to join in the Disputations at St Bartholomew's, though in 1555 Hollinshead reports a Disputation between the boys of the newly founded Christ's Hospital and the older school of St Anthony, and the scholars of Paul's[2].

In the 16th century the school disputation narrowed its scope. Grammar became the serious study of the Grammar Schools. Instead of cultivating a superficial pretentious and precocious knowledge of such subjects as theology and metaphysics in the schools, the reading of classical authors and their grammatical basis occupied the whole attention of boys, and the Disputations in higher subjects tended more and more to be reserved for the University stage. Thus, Logic gradually declined as a school subject and the dialectic method necessarily became less prominent. But it is not to be supposed that this took place rapidly. Practically, the dialectic method survived in some schools up to the end of the Commonwealth period—in connexion with one subject, viz., Grammar.

[1] Stow, *Survey of London*, in which is given a translation of the *Descriptio nobilissimae civitatis Londoniae*, written by Wm Fitzstephen (before 1190). In this *Descriptio*, Fitzstephen describes the School Disputations.

[2] Dr J. H. Lupton states that the Paul's School here mentioned was St Paul's Cathedral School (not Colet's School), which was actually required by Statute to hold disputations in philosophy and logic at St Bartholomew's on the day of that saint.

The following instances will show the survival of some form of disputational method up to the Restoration. The case of Tonbridge is especially interesting since the text-book for the method is forthcoming. It is described later in this chapter.

Solempne Exercise (*Disputations*).

Tonbridge founded 1564. *Statutes* 1580.

'Item, considering that virtue and knowledge by praise and reward is in all estates maintained and increased and specially in youthe I will that every yere Once, to wit, the first or second day after May-day there be kept in this school disputations upon Questions provided by the Master from one of the clock at afternoon till Evensong time, at which disputations I will that the Master desire the vicar of the Town with one or two other of knowledge or more dwelling nigh to be present in the School if it please them to hear the same.'

The Disputation, no doubt, was regarded as important training in view of the religious controversies of the times. School methods in Protestant Schools had to adapt themselves to some extent by way of re-action to the methods employed by Catholics. Hence it is necessary to note that the Disputation was a recognised discipline of the Jesuit Schools. Thus in 1599, Sir Edwin Sandys writes:

'I have seen them (the Jesuits) in their bare grammatical disputations inflame their scholars with such earnestness and fierceness, as to seem to be at the point of flying each in the other's face, to the amazement of those strangers which had never seen to like before, but to their own great content and glory, as it appeared.' (*Europae Speculum*, p. 81.)

The next instance is that of Appositions, a form of the Disputation:

1580. *Harrow Statutes.*

'The Schoolmaster shall every day, for the space of an hour,

hear either the third, fourth or fifth forms amongst themselves propound questions and answers one to another of cases, declinings, comparison of nouns, conjugations, tenses and modes of verbs, of understanding the Grammar rules, of the meaning of proverbs and sentences, or of the quantity of syllables; so that every of these forms shall every week use this exercise twice, and they which answer the first time shall propound questions the latter time, and they which do best shall go, sit, and have place before their fellows for the time.'

Perhaps the Declamation was the most general form towards which the Disputation tended in the later times. We see it in the Orders of

Guildford 1608.

On half-holidays or Saints' Days the boys were to declaim chiefly in grammatical or rhetorical questions.

1621–8. *Westminster School.* Archbishop Laud's transcript of Studies describing what was probably the custom many years before. Laud states:

'Upon Saturdayes they pronounced their Declamations in gr. and lat., and the Preb. did often come in and give incouragement unto them.

'All that were chosen away by election took their leave in a pub. Orat. to the Deane, Preb., M^r., Ush.: Scholers made in the Schoole.'

The practice, an excellent one, of scholars being sent to see the work of other schools, was required by the statutes, 1611, of

Charterhouse.

'Boys to go on election days to Westminster or Merchant Taylors' School to hear exercises.'—This was similarly enjoined in Bilson's Statutes, St Saviour's School.

Newport (*Salop*), 1656.

'Once in six weeks[1], or in two months at the furthest, throughout the year Saturday in the forenoon shall be spent by as many of the upper forms as shall be fitted for it, in such exercises as the construing of such authors of themselves, as the Master shall appoint, proposing of grammatical or historical questions unto one another, and making declamations, and such like exercises as may tend to the begetting of an emulation in learning amongst the scholars.'

The educational writers, Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612 and 1627) and Hoole in his *New Discovery* (1660) are emphatic in their approval of the Disputation as far as Grammar is concerned, and speak of it as an established method. Brinsley devotes a chapter to the subject and shows: How to dispute scholarlike of any Grammar question *in good Latin*. He states the 'benefits of such scholasticall oppositions,' though he explicitly advocates the relegation of Disputations in 'morall Philosophy' to the Universities, particularly reserving the Grammatical Disputation to the School.

Hoole regards Friday afternoons as the time of most leisure, and suggests three o'clock in that afternoon for weekly Disputations. Each Form has two 'sides,' which face one another. Each boy propounds to the boy opposite him points of difficulty in the week's work—'which if the other cannot answer readily before he count six, or ten (in Latin) let him be *captus*, and the question be passed to the next boy on the other side.' The lowest boy is to begin the questions. Account to be kept of those who are '*capt*, and how often.' Besides the difficulties in the week's work—other exercises for competition are memory of grammar, the most *vocabulas* under one head, variations of phrases, imitations of oratory or poetry. Also the capping of Latin verses[2] (for lower Forms) and Greek

[1] Once a month at least throughout the year (Wigan, 1664). (Except as to dates of exercises Newport and Wigan Statutes use the same words in this matter.)

[2] Books for the purpose of exercise recommended by Hoole are the *Capping-Book* of Bartholomaeus Schonborn or Ross's *Gnomologicon Poeticon*.

verses (for higher Forms)—'for which the boys should contrive a little book of their own wherein to write verses alphabetically out of the best poets....A lower boy may win a place by disputing with a higher boy for his place.'

With regard to text-books, many of the books on Rhetoric give examples of the Disputational Method. For Grammar a book which was much used in England is John Stockwood's Grammatical Disputations. This was a well known book, and represents for the first half of the 17th century a mode of school activity which has passed away, for which we have not, apparently, elsewhere than in Stockwood any outstanding document.

Its full title is :—

Disputatiuncularum Grammaticalium libellus, ad puerorum in Scholis trivialibus exacuenda ingenia primum excogitatus: 1607.

The dulness of the Index of Questions offered for discussion is undeniable. It looks impossible that any interest could be excited in such subjects amongst boys[1].

Yet the most important consideration in reference to Stockwood's book is rather the mental discipline involved in the method than the subjects discussed. If a right method of discussion is practised, his argument is that such a method, employed first on material with which the pupil is familiar, viz., Grammar, can be applied to other subjects of discussion of literary or culture-material.

What, then, are the distinctive merits of this method of teaching, which has disappeared from school practice in grammar teaching? Stockwood himself points out the aim of the method as an effort to sharpen the wits of boys in the trivial schools[2]. It is the old method of dialectic transferred to the material of grammar, which had become the *sine quâ*

[1] The whole treatise is, of course, in Latin. Altogether the subjects for disputation suggested by Stockwood number sixty-one.

[2] Trivial—originally schools in which the trivia—viz., grammar, rhetoric and dialectic—were taught. Stockwood means what we call Grammar Schools.

non of Renascence studies. A special merit of the method was the spirit of research at first-hand amongst the classical writers for illustration of grammatical uses and standards. With Stockwood, the classical authors were to grammar what modern maps are to the geographer. The old method of geography teaching in schools of a text-book and lists of names of countries, towns, mountains, rivers, etc., and a series of facts about each, corresponds roughly to the old grammar teaching. Stockwood endeavours that the pupil shall map out, at least by confirmation, the usages of the most approved classical authors. It is true he supplies the pupil with a great number of these. But he also supplies models whereby the pupil enterprising in Disputation shall be on the look-out for himself –supplying himself with material against his opponent.

Disputations in the university are usually associated with Pre-Reformation times, and especially with the scholastic philosophy. Mr Maxwell Lyte quotes G. H. Lewes on the art of Disputation. He well says: 'Disputation was to the athletes of the Middle Ages what parliamentary debate has been to the English.' Mr Bass Mullinger has shown that the Disputation was considered by the Protector and Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI, to be the best of weapons against the Catholic position in the universities. We cannot but remember Luther's famous nailing of his colours to the mast in the statement of the Lutheran theses at Wittenberg. Stockwood had himself studied at the Protestant centre of Heidelberg, in Germany, and was incorporated a graduate of Oxford, and took his degree later at Cambridge. Hence he was inoculated with the idea of Disputations, and readily applied the method to his school, and wrote his book on Grammatical Disputations. The commendation which he received from other teachers[1] and scholars affords sufficient proof that the Disputation was a generally recognised method of grammar teaching.

[1] For instance in the prefatory poems to the Disputations.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TEACHING OF MANNERS AND MORALS.

The books in the Middle Ages on manners, civility, and courtesy are an outcome from the important side of chivalric education. When William of Wykeham established Winchester College, he definitely associated the idea that 'Manners maketh Man' with the school. The formal teaching of manners and morals was certainly a part of the education of nobles and gentlemen in pre-Reformation times, and in mediaeval grammar schools, the moral distichs of Cato were amongst the texts frequently taught. Under the title of *The Babees Book*, Dr F. J. Furnivall has brought together a large number of the manner-books, which show the methods of the training in the knowledge of the detail of manners and morals. Of these some exist only in MS. form and others in printed books. The MS. are in verse, and usually have descriptive titles, e.g. *the Babees Boke*, *Urbanitatis*, the *Lytylle Children's Lytil Boke*, *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (attributed to John Lidgate). *How the Good Wyf tauȝte her Dauȝter*, *How the wise Man tauȝt his son*. All these are short manner-treatises—all 15th century MSS., for the teaching of children, but it is clear that the children in the minds of the writer are those of noblemen and gentlemen. They are not grammar-school books, though they may sometimes be addressed to the household schools of the period, which it is necessary to describe briefly. These schools were the houses of nobles. The Chancellor of the King commonly received such pupils, saw to their

manners, and power of performing service in the house, had them taught reading and probably writing, and languages—particularly Latin and French. Dr Furnivall traces this method of training the young nobles as far back as Anglo-Saxon times. Sir Thomas More was brought up in Cardinal Morton's household, and Roger Ascham in the house of Sir Antony Wingfield. Noble ladies similarly sent their daughters for training in the households of other ladies. Thus the higher grades of society kept together their traditions, and the training became more social than it could possibly be if children remained always within the limits of their own families. New intellectual developments, methods and habits of living, fashion in amusements and exercises, in music and the arts, in physical welfare, and in higher refinement, could circulate, and the *Zeit-geist* which especially related itself to the nobles and gentry, became part of the educational influence of the ruling classes. All the higher posts, too, were opened up, by the securing of interest amongst the powerful, and through the youth becoming known at an early age. Sir Thomas More was thus marked out for a brilliant career early. Cardinal Morton said of him 'Whosoever shall live to see it this child here waiting at the table will prove a marvellous man. Whereupon *he placed him at Oxford*.' Favoured nobles' sons were even received in the very Court of the King. Thus in Edward IV's Court, noblemen's children to the number of six or more were in residence, and a master appointed for them called the 'Maistyr of Henxmen.' This official was required[1] 'to show the schools of urbanity and nurture of England, to learn them to ride cleanly and surely; to draw them also to jousts; to learn them their harness; to have all courtesy in words, deeds and degrees; diligently to keep them in rules of goings and sittings, after they be of honour,' and to control their courtly education generally, and to keep them in due convenity, 'with remembrance daily of God's service accustomed.' We are further

[1] *Liber Niger* in Household Ordinances, quoted by Dr Furnivall.

told that the Master of the Henxmen sat in the hall next to the henxmen to have 'his respect unto their demeanings, how mannerly they eat and drank and to their communication and other forms curial, after the book of urbanity.' This system of education in Courts and in the houses of nobles had been in existence long before Edward IV, and continued long afterwards. Ben Jonson in Queen Elizabeth's reign, pays tribute to its effectiveness:

> 'The noblest way
> Of breeding up our youth in letters, arms,
> Fair mien, discourses, civil exercises,
> And all the blazon of a gentleman—
> Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
> To move his body gracefuller, to speak
> His language purer, or to tune his mind
> Or manners more to the harmony of nature
> Than in these nurseries of nobility?'

There is a considerable number of treatises on manners and duties of the households of nobles. In addition to the shorter manuals, Dr Furnivall reprints several longer books.

The first of these is:

The boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good maners: For men, Seruants, and children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, very necessary for all youth and children. London 1577.

This is compiled by Hugh Rhodes of the King's Chapel. The subjects[1] treated by Rhodes are the duties of parents and children, the manner of serving a Knight, Squire or Gentleman, how to order your master's chamber at night to bedward. Then follows the Book of Nurture and School of Good Manner for Man and for Child. Directions to the Waiting Servant. The Rule of Honest Living.

From the list of contents it is evident that this is a full treatment of the young noble's school, in the household of the

[1] As distinguished by Dr Furnivall.

great, and valuable material is obtainable as to the education of the rich.

Of the same kind is the second large treatise:

The Boke of Nurture followeyng Englondis gise. By me John Russell, sum tyme servaunde with Duke Unfrey of Glowcetur, a Prynce fulle royalle, with whom uschere in Chambur was I, and Marshalle also in Halle.

This book, however, takes us still further away from the school.

A third longer treatise is, on the other hand, distinctly a school text-book. Its title is:

The schoole of Vertue, and booke of good Nourture for chyldren and youth to learne their dutie by. Newely perused, corrected, and augmented by the fyrst Auctour F. S(eager) With a briefe declaracion of the dutie of eche degree Anno 1557... *London.*

This occupies pp. 333–355 (cr. oct.) of the E.E.T.S. reprint. It is in rhymed couplets. The contents consist of the Morning Prayer, followed by getting up and dressing. Next is described the going in the street and conduct in the school. The boy is to salute his master, go straight to his seat, unknit his satchel, take his books out, and learn his lesson. He must behave himself humbly and be industrious and take pains. For his encouragement he is told 'All things seem hard when we do begin.' Quotations serving to allure to right school conduct are given from Vergil, Cato, Cicero, and Aristotle. Finally, directions are given as to the right way of returning homeward, and then on reaching home, the boy is enjoined to 'humbly salute his parents with all reverence.' But manners and conduct follow him on reaching home. He is told how to serve at table, how to conduct himself whilst sitting at table. Then conduct is prescribed for the Church. He is warned as to the fruits of 'gaming, virtue and learning.' He is told how to talk with any man, how to take a message.

Anger, envy and malice are duly condemned; the fruits of charity, love and patience are pointed out. A *caveat* is uttered against the horrible vice of swearing, of filthy talking, and lying. A prayer is given 'to be said when thou goest to bed.' Finally, the duty is stated in a couplet devoted to each of the following 'degrees': princes, judges, prelates, parents, children, masters, servants, husbands, merchants, subjects, rich men, poor men, magistrates, officers and all men:

> Let eche here so live in his vocation,
> As may his soul save, and profit his nation.

We have the testimony of Brinsley (*Ludus literarius* 1612) that Seager's *School of Vertue* was a school-book. Brinsley also recommends the *School of Good Manners*, called *the new School of Virtue*, leading the child as by the hand, in the way of all good manners. Charles Hoole in 1660, also, advises the use of the *School of Good Manners*[1] as a reading book. To the names of Brinsley and Hoole, the still earlier name of Richard Mulcaster must be added as a witness (in his *Elementarie*) to the 'Manner'-book as a recognised school-book.

Dr Furnivall includes in his *Babees Book* a number of French and Latin poems on Manners. He also gives some Latin graces for meals. All this material is valuable in showing that the influence of the teaching of Manners was far-spread, and there can be no doubt that Manners-teaching in England, was not an independent movement in education, but was one of the results of our contact with continental nations, particularly with France[2]. Apparently, too, France received the impress from another nation—viz., Italy. Mr W. M. Rossetti

[1] I have failed to trace a school text-book bearing this name, though it may be Seager's *School of Virtue*, as prepared (with a second part) by R. West, in the edition of 1610.

[2] Spain was also early in the field. The *El libro del infante*, by Don Juan Manuel, dates from the 14th century.

has edited the *Italian Books of Courtesy*[1]. The series of courtesy-books in Italy culminates in the *Cortigiano* of Baldassori Castiglione in 1553. The *Courtier*, appeared in English in 1561, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby as 'very necessary and profitable for young gentlemen and gentlewomen abiding in Court, Palace, or Place.' An Englishman (B. Clerke) published a Latin translation of the Italian at London in 1571 which ran through at least four editions by 1603. Sir Thomas Hoby in 1588 supplemented his English translation by issuing a text in Italian, French and English. The *Courtier* is a classic, and is of the first importance in an estimate of the education of the noble[2]. 'It is, the best book that was ever written on good breeding. *Il Cortigiano* grew up at the little Court of Urbino and you should read it.' So says Samuel Johnson in 1773. The Education sketched in the *Courtier* is rather aesthetic and chivalric than intellectual. In fact, all sense of effort is to be obscured. The courtier is to do everything as if it were natural rather than as if learned with study. He is to be well spoken and fair-languaged, to be wise and well 'seen' in discourses upon states and to frame himself to the manners of the country where he stays. He is to be good company and not to play dice and cards merely to win money. He is to be 'more than indifferently well seen in the Latin and Greek tongues.' He is to dance, sing and play on the lute or viol. He is not to become a jester or scoffer 'to put any man out of

[1] Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 1869. To Mr Rossetti's list must be added two by the Humanist educators:

P. P. Vergerius: *De ingenuis moribus*, c. 1393.

(Translated in Professor Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre* and other Humanist educators.)

Maffeus Vegius: *De educatione liberorum clarisque eorum moribus*, c. 1460.

[2] In 1894 Signor Cian published an edition of the Italian text, at Florence, and in 1900 Professor Walter Raleigh's edition of Hoby's translation, with a valuable introduction, was published in the Tudor Translation Series (D. Nutt).

countenance.' Above all, he is to be skilful in all kinds of martial feats, both on horseback and on foot, and to be well practised in them. In these exercises, as at all times, he must bear himself nobly and magnanimously.

Thus the *Courtier* is much more than a mere Manners-book. It includes a full philosophy of manners, because the education of a noble could never be complete, unless his nobility received the objective manifestation to others of the inherent nobility of disposition and cultivation within him. This ideal presented itself almost as a contrast to the scholar who was, typically, poor, and regardless of outward appearances and observances. It was an ideal which did not reach the grammar schools, for they were emphatically 'free' schools for the children of the poorer classes. Probably, however, the schools of no country in the world have imbibed more of the spirit of Castiglione's *Courtier*, than the English Public Schools. Moreover, in spite of the great progress of our secondary school system recently by entering into the traditions of the scientific developments of the last century, probably there is no greater need, in the secondary school system, than the attempt to enter more determinedly than at present into the spirit of the best elements of the education suggested by Castiglione's *Courtier* and similar treatises on the education of nobles and gentlemen.

Returning from these French and Italian Books of Manners and Courtesy, described in the collections of Dr Furnivall and Mr Rossetti, the English books named in the *Babees Book* take up only the most difficult part of the history, viz., the MS. Manners-books, with Rhodes, Russell and Seager. But the training in manners, beginning in the households of the nobles, was reinforced by the Renascence, and in many cases penetrated down to the schools as we have seen in the cases of Mulcaster, Brinsley and Hoole, as a set subject of instruction. Towards this development of the school teaching of Manners, probably no one man contributed so much as Erasmus, not only in

England, but also abroad, by the publication in 1526, at Basle of the *de Civilitate Morum puerilium*. This was translated into English in 1532, under the title: *A lytil Booke of good maners for chyldren, nowe lately compyled and put forth by Robert Whittyngton laureate poete*. The book[1] is in double columns, containing Erasmus's Latin and Whittington's English.

The art of instructing children, says Erasmus, in the Preface, consists of several parts, of which the first and chief is that the tender mind receives the germs of piety; the second that it gives itself up to the liberal disciplines, and permeates itself with them thoroughly; the third that it is initiated into the duties of the life that lies before it; and the fourth, that the child becomes accustomed from the earliest age, to the cultivation of manners (*civilitati morum*). 'I don't deny,' Erasmus continues, that the subject of manners 'is the most humble part of Philosophy, but it is of avail in conciliating good-will, and in giving currency to more solid gifts of mind.' Erasmus recognises that those who pursue learning must establish a claim to true nobility. 'Let others have painted on their escutcheons, lions, eagles, bulls, leopards; those people possess more real nobility who in place of all the quarterings on their shields can produce as their ensigns the proofs of so many liberal arts.' In short, Erasmus's view is that the young scholar should be trained to meet the best of the outside world, be they nobles or gentlemen, on equal terms of courtesy and good bearing. Accordingly, Erasmus deals in detail in the first place with the graceful and ungraceful demeanour of body, and with the boy's dress. Then he describes how the boy should conduct himself in Church, at his meals, in his meeting with others, in his play, and in the bedroom.

Throughout Erasmus's book, with illustrative detail, the two sterling qualities are presented, of self-respect, and con-

[1] Published by Wynkyn de Worde.

sideration for others, as the basis of all true courtesy and mannerliness. These characteristics are as desirable in the scholar as in the noble, and, one might add, in the boy who is as yet neither the one nor the other.

M. Alcide Bonneau[1] well states Erasmus's view: 'Exactitude applied to gestures, ordinary actions, the methods of dealing with equals, as well as superiors, shows balance of faculties, clearness of judgment. Therefore it is not unworthy of a philosopher to occupy himself with these matters which are apparently of indifferent importance.'

Erasmus's treatise rapidly spread, especially in Germany and France. In the Latin text it 'quickly became,' says Alcide Bonneau, 'a familiar book to the pupils of the Colleges, and in its translations or imitations a school text-book for all young children.' It is difficult to gauge the demand in England, since the Latin text was probably imported from abroad, and Whittington's translation is no criterion of the extent of the circulation of the *de Civilitate*. It was used by the young noble, e.g. Lawrence Humfrey, in the *Nobles* (1560), requires the youth 'to read Aristotle Of Manners, Cicero's Duties, Erasmus Of Civility, the House-Philosophy of Xenophon and Aristotle, which also Paul touched, writing to the Ephesians, Timothy and others.' It was also used in the schools. For instance, at the Friars' School, Bangor, in the Statutes provided in 1568 by Dean Nowell, the Usher is directed, in the third form, to read with the boys Erasmus, *de Civilitate*. This follows upon the prescription for the second form of Mancinus, *de quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*, of which an account is given in Note A to this chapter. Charles Hoole, in 1660, it may be added, names Erasmus's book as one to be read by schoolboys in class on the subject of Manners.

It should be remembered that at the very beginning of the *Brevissima Institutio*, i.e. the authorised Latin Grammar,

[1] In *La civilité puérile, par Érasme de Rotterdam. Traduction nouvelle. Précédé d'une Notice sur les livres de civilité depuis le XVIe siècle.* 1877.

was the Carmen *de Moribus*, addressed by William Lily to all learners of grammar. It is difficult to realise that formerly these verses were probably as well known in England as any lines of the classics.

> Qui mihi discipulus, puer, es, cupis atque doceri
> Huc ades, haec animo concipe dicta tuo.
> Mane citus lectum fuge, mollem discute somnum,
> Templa petas supplex, et venerate Deum.

This carmen is an epitome of Manners in 86 Latin verses, in which the boy is told his order of duties for the day, to wash his face and hands, have his clothes clean, his hair combed. He is not to loiter on the way to school; he is to salute his master, sit where bidden and stay in his place. He is to have materials, penknife, quills, ink, paper, always ready, to make no blots; to ask when in doubt. *Is qui nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni.* Take pains in learning as is done in warfare. The boy is to observe order in his speech; *improba garrulitas* distresses his master. Let no one prompt you. Speak neither too fast nor too slow, the mean is a virtue. Whenever you speak, speak Latin and avoid barbarous words as you would, if a mariner, avoid rocks. Help others more ignorant than yourself. Learn the best Latin authors. Sometimes Vergil courts you, sometimes Terence and Cicero themselves. Don't imitate those who spend their time in trifles, or those boys who worry their friends in any way, or those who boast of their noble family, or who reproach others with their parentage,—bad patterns of manners! Give and sell nothing and exchange nothing. 'You will receive no profit by another's loss!' Leave money, the incitement to evil, to others. *Puerum nil nisi pura decent.* Let noise, contention, scoffings, lies, thefts, loud laughter and fighting be far from you! Say nothing filthy or 'unhandsome.' The tongue is the gate of life and of death also. Evil words must not be said nor the sacred name of Almighty God be taken in vain.

To this extent, all boys in England, entered in grammar,

were under instruction in the mixture of Manners and Morals laid down by Lily. Indeed, the inculcation and exposition of *Mores*, to use the Latin term which includes both manners and morals, is to be found in all the school books. Up to the middle of the reign of Elizabeth we get greater attention relatively to the manners. From that time onward, morals are so closely allied to religion, that the Puritanic influence from about 1570–80 to the Commonwealth, absorbed morals into religion, and indeed gave a theological tinge to them. Yet, on the whole, the predominant characteristic of the later books on Morals undoubtedly was the pietistic element, sincere and intense,—probably, in the light of our modern views, beyond the reach of the healthily minded boy.

The most striking example of this class of book in England, was, curiously enough, French in origin. It was the famous *Colloquies* of Corderius. These *Colloquies* were read in the schools of all the Calvinistic countries for a twofold purpose, to teach Latin speech and writing[1], but further, to frame the pupils' mind to right morals and manners. It was in the latter aspect that Corderius was especially attractive to teachers. So, too, the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, e.g. *Pietas Puerilis*, and *Monita paedagogica*, were contributions from the great humanist to the teaching of Manners and Morals.

Coote, in his *English Schoolmaster* in 1596, followed suit, and the admonitions which the Grammar School boys received from Lily were reflected for the generations of boys in the Elementary Schools to which Coote's manual ministered. Coote had nine quatrains entitled *The Schoolmaster to his Scholar*, such as:

> First, I command thee God to serve,
> Then to thy Parents duty yield;
> Unto all men be courteous,
> And mannerly in Town and Field.

[1] *See* on Colloquies (Chap. xx.).

In 1633, John Clarke, of Lincoln School, published his *Dux Grammaticus*. He gives there a Dialogue of Duties, or Scholars' Manners. It is, in Clarke's own opinion, a comprehensive account of what was to be expected in the conduct of a schoolboy at school and at home. It is in the form of a dialogue between the teacher and pupil. It begins by the observation that it belongs to a master to teach his scholars '*both manners and learning*.' Attention should be given to all that is required by Cicero in *de Officiis*, and then in detail are given the particular points to be observed by the mannerly schoolboy generally, in school and at home, particularly at table. It should be stated that this occurs in the *Grammar* itself, under the heading 'The 4th Part of the Construction of Verbs Impersonal.' The treatise is both in Latin and in English, and the Latin version, as indicated, is an exercise in the use and construction of impersonal verbs, so that instruction in grammar and manners is conveyed at the same time.

Clarke first dilates on the duties of the teacher. Every man can see that the instruction given to the child will affect him ever afterwards. The pupil (Discipulus) says: 'I perceive now by experience what I read in Horace: A pitcher will have a snatch long after of the liquor first put into it.' Coming to the subject of reading, Clarke gives directions as to the tongue, voice, voice-production. ,'The countenance should be shapen meet unto the matter,' (I may say) 'like a glove to the hand.' Of these things, who desireth to have more full knowledge let him look upon Tullies' Rhetoric, Talaeus' Rhetoric[1], Master Butler and Mr Dugard *de Pronunciatione*.

The principle of correlation of studies was carried out perhaps more closely than we are accustomed to think in the 17th century. Clarke is teaching the subject of Manners, at the same time he is doing it by introducing the construction of impersonal verbs, and moreover he is keeping his eyes, and

[1] *See* account of Talaeus, Butler and Dugard (Chap. XXVII.).

those of his pupils, on the old classical authors Aristotle and Cicero, and the most recent exponents, Talaeus, Butler and Dugard, so as to lead them to systematic study of Rhetoric later on.

He proceeds to deal with the scholars' duties and manners. These extend beyond the school, to the town and field. As in all the school Manner-books 'Daily in the morning, before all things upon his knees he is to praise God and call for grace whereby he may increase in learning and virtue. Which done, in due season, he is to come to the school, mannerly to salute his master, and after, his fellows, and diligently applying his learning, lose no time idly in jangling to his own hurt and hindrance of others.' He is to have continual practice of Latin speech. (The dialogue is given in Latin and English.)

Praeceptor: 'Gentle in word and deed to all his fellows, no busy complainer, nor yet no hider of truth, benevolent, liberal, obsequent, making comparison with no man.

'A diligent marker of the virtue and good manners of others, and a more diligent follower, and (as from a rock in the sea) to fly far from the company of all unthrifty rake-hells.

Discipulus: 'The conversation of one unthrift, is as poison to a whole school, for one scabbed sheep (as they say) marreth the whole flock.

Praec: 'In these great cities, as in London, York, Peruse, and such, where best manners should be the children be so nicely, and wantonly brought up, that (commonly) they can little good.'

The pupil himself concludes that 'It is not the place but the bringing up that maketh a child ill-mannered. For a man shall see a child in a gentleman's house in the country that hath better manners than the child brought up at home, under the mother's wing in the middle of the city.'

Praec: 'These cockneys and tidlings, wantonly brought up, may abide no sorrow, when they come to age, whereas they that

be hardly brought up, may lie in war, and lodge the night, thorow upon the bare ground.'

The idea of manners as the outcome of *civilitas* or town life, and of lack of manners, as the heritage of the country 'boor' or 'pagan,' gave a presumptive conclusion in favour of town life. It was a much discussed subject of the 16th century. In 1579 an anonymous writer published in London a book on *Civil and uncivil life* in the form of a dialogue between Vincent (brought up in the country) and Valentine (trained in courts and cities).

Indirectly this dialogue furnishes a side light on the general condition of the age in which it was written. It establishes a preference for town life. Especial stress is laid upon the fact that in towns there are the most skilful tutors to instruct children, and Vincent says to Valentine at the end of the dialogue: 'Through your good reasons I am brought to know that the education of a gentleman ought to be only in learning and arms[1], and that no gentleman, no, nor no nobleman, should withdraw or hold back his son from the attaining of these knowledges, which are the very true and only qualities or virtues of a gentleman, as things not only beseeming such a person, but also for the service of a prince or state very necessary.'

But Clarke, we see, held the opposite view. Manners can be taught equally in the country with the town. He gives detailed instructions how the child shall behave at the table. His first duty after the table is spread is to say grace, and then to serve in every possible way upon the others, his superiors, giving 'pre-eminence ever to strangers.' After the meal the child is to salute with courtesy before withdrawing, and pour water from the ewer into the basin whilst his elders wash their hands. 'Whosoever desireth to know further of offices and manners...let him look on Tully, Seneca, Ambrosius, and

[1] This again was a *questio vexata* of the times, which is preferable: a training to arms, or a training to literature.

Erasmus his tractate intituled *Mor-Puer*, and the Colloquies *Pietas puerilis* and *Monita Paedagogica*.' Clarke considers he has given a right account of what was 'commonly used' in his time. 'But forasmuch as manners daily alter and renew (as the leaves of the trees) a child must conform himself to approach to such manners as are laudably used for the time.'

Another manual of Manners must have been popular to judge by the fact that, first printed in 1641, by 1646 it had passed to its fourth edition.

Youth's Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation Amongst Men. Composed in French by Grave Persons for the use and benefit of their youth. Now newly turned into English by Francis Hawkins (Nephew to Sir Thomas Hawkins, Translator of Caussins Holy Court). 4th ed. 1646.

This translation is said to have been made at the age of eight years by Francis Hawkins.

Charles Hoole says in his *Petty School*: 'The sweet and orderly behaviour of children addeth more credit to a school than due and constant teaching, because this speaketh to every one that the child is well taught though (perhaps) he learn but little, and *good manners indeed are a main part of good education*.' He proceeds to deal with discipline, 'leaving the further discourse of children's manners to books that treat purposely of that subject, as *Erasmus, de Moribus, Youth's Behaviour*, etc.'

Francis Hawkins was a Jesuit, but it need not surprise us that Jesuits were followed in educational methods, when we remember that Bacon justly and discriminatingly praised their educational system, and the staunch Moravian bishop, John Amos Comenius, drew upon the Salamanca Jesuits' *Janua Linguarum* for the idea of his own *Janua*. It is important, however, to notice that the teachers of Court and noblemen, the Puritans and the Jesuits, all had in common the desire to instruct as to manners.

Bent on the reform of education, by the revision of old methods of teaching, and by a re-organisation of the curriculum

whereby much that was new was to be introduced and much that was old to be removed from the teaching of the school, the 17th century writers gave predominant place to the teaching of morals. They did not, however, interfere with the teaching of manners; in some cases they especially urged such teaching. For instance, George Snell[1] has strong words on the teaching of good manners and civility. 'The use of good manners every minute while we are in society is as necessary to preserve the civil life of our good reputation, credit, and esteem with men, as is our breathing of the air to preserve our life natural.' For this purpose he suggests that children should be required to enact realistically in school the taking of a message, the teacher instructing the pupils how to learn and bear in mind a message, how to knock at the door of the person to whom the message is sent, asking for him, if he is engaged, making of an obeisance, and so on through the series of acts involved. Every scholar should have civil duties impressed upon him by this exercise once every week. Right modes of addressing different ranks of persons should also be taught.

To these direct influences on different classes of schools, is to be added the indirect influence of the Universities in the teaching of Morals, by the provision of lecturers on Moral Philosophy, though boys could not be expected to study Aristotle Ethics[2], yet Morals and Manners were sufficiently cognate to render the University graduate who taught school to feel that these subjects were such as befitted the young scholar. Moreover, the fact that such studies were founded on writers of antiquity rendered the subject acceptable. For Erasmus and Clarke and the others went back for material in Manners, to Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, Theognis, and Cato, though they added from others, as well

[1] *Right Teaching of Useful Knowledge.* 1649.

[2] They could, however, learn, and often were taught, the Four Cardinal Virtues.

as included points of their own. Moreover, in the case of Erasmus, he was by the 17th century almost a classic himself, and Clarke had not scrupled to treat him as such, by borrowing freely from him. Some later writers on Manners quote from the distichs of the mediaeval *Schola Salernitana*. Though the teaching of *Mores* was thus general by the middle of the 17th century, in all types of schools, it did not end there. The household teaching of the nobles was intensified incomparably in the household training of the citizens of the new middle class in the 16th and 17th centuries, and manners and morals were of course inculcated with even keener zest in the home than in the school.

In considering the training of children in Manners, and *à fortiori* in Morals, the religious side of English life in the 17th century must be emphasised. One of the most popular of household books, William Gouge, *Of domesticall Duties*, 3rd ed. 1634, makes the inculcation of good manners in the child a religious duty. 'Not only heathen men[1] and other moralists that were not mere natural civil men, but also the Holy Ghost Himself hath prescribed many rules of good manners, and much urged and pressed the same.'

Gouge founds the requirement for such teaching on the command of God, but a command for which the reasons can be readily stated from Scripture.

But whatever other reasons may be quoted, 'the Holy Ghost having urged the point of good manners...it is not a "needless point," but a "*bounden duty*."'

It is impossible to over-state the sense of human responsibility which pervaded the genuine Puritan of the 17th century. 'We have filled our children's bones with sin,' says an enlightened educationist, Hezekiah Woodward. 'It is our engagement to do all we can to root that sin out, which we have been a means to root so fast in....We see what an

[1] 'Educatio et doctrina efficiunt mores,' says Seneca.

engagement it is, *the greatest and strongest that can be thought of*[1].'

The doctrine of original sin, it has been pointed out, did not bring about neglect of education, a result to which it might have been expected logically to lead. It led to a heightened sense of responsibility 'to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection.'

Such is Milton's statement of the *end of learning*. The Puritanic manuals of household government, (they form a distinct species of literature,) like Woodward, make clear the responsibility of the parent for the up-bringing of his children, as well as for his own personal conduct. Woodward severely criticises the mother who thinks 'that the school must look to the washing her children's hands, putting on the girdle, his attendance at the table, and his manners there, and if there be any other faults, as there will be many....The mother is resolved to go to the Master or Mistress. If it please God (I relate her words being well acquainted with them) the Master shall know the rudeness of the child, how unmannerly and undutiful he is, and how slovenly too: nay, the Master shall know it will neither give God thanks, nor say his prayers. When she has done this, she takes it, she has done her duty.'

But the parents cannot thus pass on the responsibility 'It is their charge whereof they *must give an exact account, yea of every part and parcel* of this seed-time.' They must first look to their own practice. The conduct and bearing of the parents 'is the child's book, from which he learns to speak and hear.

[1] *Of the Child's Portion.* 1640 and 1649. Woodward is a child-lover and is a sympathetic exponent of the way of dealing with backward and defective children, having himself been deaf in childhood, and suffered the agonies of mis-treatment.

He is fashioned after it. He is catechised by it. It is his school and church. The parents' house must promote the child in point of information, more than can school or church though well provided in both.'

This insistence on moral training is reinforced by Woodward with suggestions for the training of children in morals which are founded upon a close study of child psychology. They are tinctured with theological implications, but they represent a systematic attempt to train in morals, to build up character in the individual members of the house. How systematically the head of the household pointed out duties, explained right conduct, controlled demeanour, afforded himself an example of right public and private practice, Puritan biography clearly shows. Much has been said of its excesses, and excesses seem to dwell in the general idea held of our Puritan ancestors. But the conscious and determined effort of Puritans (rightly and wrongly directed) to build up character in the home, will receive more and more recognition with the realisation of the work of education as character-building. So, too, with the ministers of religion. It must not be forgotten they were concerned with the teaching of duties, morals and manners as well as of doctrinal religion. Edward Reyner, Minister of the Gospel in Lincoln, in his *Precepts for Christian Practice*, 8th ed. 1655, wrote of a detailed account of the duties of all who were under 'the rule of the new creature newly modelled,' i.e. the christian believer. One of these duties laid down with all deliberateness of reasoning is: to get a public spirit. 'Good, the more common it is, the better it is. Common good is better than private good. The good of many is to be preferred before the good of one. Quantity increaseth the values and dignity of things. Hence God is the *summum bonum*; the best Good, because he is the most universal or common good; the fountain of all goodness.' Such views as these of Gouge, Woodward and Reyner are representative of the Puritan teaching of morals and manners, and the fruit is seen in such characters

as those of Colonel Hutchinson, Milton, and the whole band of the patriots of the middle of the 17th century. Household instruction of the members, who it will be remembered, often consisted of apprentices as well as children, was itself revised and re-directed by the ministers who recognised instruction as part of their work as well as preaching. Richard Baxter, Teacher of the Church at Kidderminster, in his *Reformed Pastor* (1656), shows how domestic education was directed by him in that town. 'We spend Monday and Tuesday from morning to almost night in the work, taking about 15 or 16 families in a week that we may do the parish (which hath above 800 families) in a year and I cannot say yet that one family has refused to come to me now, [and] but few persons excused and shifted it off. I find more outward signs of success with most that come, than of all my public preaching to them....At my delivery of the Catechisms, I take a Catalogue of all the persons of understanding in the Parish: and the clerk goeth a week before to every family to tell them when to come and at what hour (one family at 8 o'clock, the next at 9, and the next at 10, etc.). I am forced by the number to deal with a whole family at once but admit not any of another to be present, ordinarily[1].'

The *Great Didactic* of Comenius was completed (in Czech) in 1632, and published in Latin in the *Opera Didactica Omnia* in 1657. In one of the chapters is given Comenius's Method of teaching Morals. Although we are concerned with English education, it is remarkable how Comenius's Method seems to be the general view of the best educationists in different countries of the first half of the 17th century throughout

[1] Education in the family in England requires further study than it has received. Thus one of Daniel Defoe's most famous works was the *Family Instructor I Relating to Fathers and Children II Masters and Servants III Husbands and Wives* (1715). In 1772, this had reached its 17th edition. It is in many ways interesting from the point of view of ethics and education.

Europe. In questions of morals and their teaching, it can be claimed that England was not behind other countries, and as a matter of fact after the Calvinistic impress of the latter part of the 16th century, England was in this matter in remarkable accord with the other Protestant countries. So much so, that John Dury not altogether unreasonably hoped to effect a conciliation and unity of all the Protestant Churches, Lutheran and Calvinist, in England and the Continent. We may, therefore, by summarising Comenius's Method of Morals, accept the general positions there stated as acceptable, educationally, by English, and indeed, European Puritanic Protestantism. It is interesting to note that Comenius differentiated Morals and Religious Teaching. He devotes a chapter to each, and his chapter on religious teaching has no reference to the distinctive doctrines of the Moravians, over whom he was Bishop, but has the wider aim of being his 'Method of instilling piety.' Comenius's reputation has been so great for promoting methods of teaching sciences and arts, that it is sometimes forgotten that it was his ultimate aim to bring the pupil to wisdom by the practice of morality and the practice of piety 'by means of which we are exalted above all other creatures and draw nigh to God Himself.' The art of shaping morals[1], according to Comenius is based on sixteen fundamental rules :

i. All the virtues without exception should be implanted in the young. No gap must be left.

ii. The cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice must first be instilled.

iii. Sound judgment in matters of fact is the true foundation of all virtues. As Vives said 'True wisdom consists in having a sound judgment and thus aiming at the *truth*.' This is precisely what is now termed 'The Intellectual Factor in Moral Education.'

[1] The following are taken from Mr Keatinge's translation of the *Great Didactic*.

iv. 'Nothing in excess' in eating, drinking, sleeping, waking, work and play, talking and silence.

v. Fortitude to be learned by subduing of the self.

vi. The young must practise justice by hurting no man, giving each his due, by avoiding falsehood and deceit, and by being obliging and agreeable.

vii. The kinds of fortitude especially necessary to the young are frankness and endurance of toil. Virtue is practised by deeds and not by words.

viii. Frankness is acquired by constant intercourse with worthy people and by behaving, while in their presence, in accordance with right precepts. There should be rules for conversation. These should be practised by daily intercourse with tutors, school-fellows, parents and servants.

ix. Boys will learn to endure toil if they are *continually occupied* with work or with play.

x. The youth must learn, we are not born for ourselves alone, but for God and our neighbour, that is to say for the human race.

xi. Virtue must be inculcated very early, before vice gets possession of the mind.

xii. The virtues are *learned* by constantly *doing* what is right.

xiii. Examples of well-ordered lives, in the persons of their parents, nurses, tutors, and school-fellows, must continually be brought before children. Especially are *living* examples important.

xiv. In addition to examples, precepts and rules of conduct must be given.

xv. Children must be very carefully guarded from bad society, lest they be infected by it. The same applies to bad conversation and bad books. Idleness must never be permitted.

xvi. Where all precautions fail, stern discipline must keep evil tendencies in check.

Such are the principles of Moral Education laid down by a representative Puritan educator, written by 1632. Comenius was the leader to whom the Commonwealth writers such as Hartlib, Dury, Woodward, Snell, Evelyn, and other reformers looked for guidance. It was the organisation of 'Reformed' Schools for which they longed. Had the Commonwealth continued, everything points to the likelihood that the attempt would have been made to get a recognition in the school teaching of Morals, of Comenius's principles, or some close reflexion of them. The Restoration, however, introduced an entirely different type of leading ideas, and the Moral teaching directly descended from Comenius and his followers, if to be found at all in any organised form is probably most clearly to be traced in the Nonconformist Academies of the latter part of the 17th and the 18th centuries. The whole trend of the best Puritan writers on education is summarised when Locke in his *Thoughts on Education* (1693) states the order of aims in education is: virtue, wisdom, manners, learning.

Note A.

Mancinus: de quattuor Virtutibus.

Here begynneth a ryght fruteful treatyse | intituled the myrour of good maners | conteyning the iiii vertues | called cardynall | compyled in latyn by Domynike Mancyn: And translate into Englyshe: at the desyne of syr Gyles Alyngton Knyght: by Alexander Bercley pr[i]est: and monke of Ely. (in verse) Latin and English

(R. Pynson)? 1523

Mancinus super quattuor virtutibus Cardin[ale]is.

A plaine Path to perfect Vertue:
Deuised and found out by Mancinus
a Latine Poet, and translated into
English by G. Turbervile Gentleman.

Ardua ad Virtutem via.
Imprinted at London in Knightrider streete
by Henry Bynneman, for Leonard Meylard. Anno 1568.

The Mirrour of Good Maners
Conteining the foure cardinal vertues, compiled
in Latin by D. Mancinus.
In S. Brant's *Stultifera Navis* 1570.

The four virtues are: Prudence, Justice, Magnanimity, Temperance.

This prose translator of Mancinus deserves to be known. The writer not only pronounces that the whole business of grammar may be followed in translation and re-translation, but his translation is *con amore* and in vigorous English.

The work is full of moral maxims and guidance in manners directing the life of man, in the Four Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Magnanimity, Temperance. The section on Prudence begins: 'The first place of honesty (that is to say the chief part of wisdom) is to search diligently what should be true or false and which things should be good or what should be bad. This knowledge of truth from falsehood, of good from bad is a thing so apt and meet to the nature and strength of man, that nothing should be more proper for him, nor that nothing should more beseem him.'

Mancinus's book was in circulation at any rate, till the first half of the 17th century. It was one of the books which had passed into the hands of the Stationers' Company.

Cato's Distichs.

One text-book, regarded as more elementary than those already named, and so, more generally used in the schools previously to 1660, is Cato's *Disticha de Moribus*. Both Brinsley and Hoole produced editions of the Distichs. It was prescribed by Statutes at Eton, Westminster c. 1560, Durham 1593, Ipswich 1528, Sandwich 1564, St Bees 1583, Harrow 1590, Bangor 1568, Rotherham in use c. 1630—to mention only a few places, but its use was very general, and had been so from time immemorial. It had been published by Caxton in 1483. An edition was published by Wynkyn de Worde, *Liber Cathonis pro pueris*, in 1512. It was published with scholia by Erasmus, by Peter Treveris in 1514; with notes by Richard Taverner, published by the Royal Printer, Berthelet in 1553. It was adopted from the French of Corderius in 1584. William Bullokar translated Cato into

English and published his translation together with Æsop's *Fables* 'in true ortography' in 1585. Brinsley's edition followed in 1612, and that of Hoole in 1659. The Latin text was published too frequently to name editions, and was in the hands of the Company of Stationers. In short, it was one of the most common of all school books in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the midst of the almost universal approbation, Mulcaster seems to have been almost alone (as he so often was in educational opinions) in his adverse view. We learn from Hoole that Mulcaster considered Cato's Distichs 'too serious for little ones who mind nothing beyond their toys.'

Hoole says that Mulcaster's opinion 'did much sway me to forbear the use of it in my school.' But Hoole eventually disposed of his misgivings by turning Cato into easy English verse, and furnishing his pupils with a verbatim interlineary translation. The fact was that Cato's Distichs were chosen because of the easiness of the Latin. Mulcaster's objection, however, was not due to the Latin. He considered the subject-matter unsuitable. A glance at the contents shows that to our modern opinion Mulcaster's adverse criticism was not unreasonable. Cato discourses on such subjects as adversity and prosperity, on friendship and enmity, on credulity and contentment, on sobriety and frugality, on the inanity of glory, on avarice and adulation, on ingratitude and anger and so on. If we imagine stoical ethics made easy and thrown into a simpler form of construction than, say, that of Pope in the *Essay on Man*, whilst retaining at least as much of abstract generalisation as Pope, an idea may be formed of the suitability of Cato's Distichs for the youngest entering into Latin. The following is a distinctly favourable specimen of the Distichs :

> Cum te quis laudat, iudex tuus esse memento :
> Plus aliis de te, quam tu tibi, credere noli.
> Officium alterius multis narrare memento;
> Atqui aliis cum tu benefeceris, ipse sileto.

Of course some phrases were to be found useful for making of Latins, and for themes. The stoical Morals, however, were men's Morals, not those of children.

Della Casa's Galateo.

Galateo of Maister John Della Casa, Archbishop of Beneuenta[1]. *Or rather a treatise of the manners and behaviours it behoveth a man to use and eschewe in his familiar conversation. A worke very necessary and profitable for all Gentlemen or other. First written in the Italian tongue and now done into English. Imprinted at London for Raufe Newbery*, 1576.

[1] Benevento.

After Castiglione's *Courtier*, this is perhaps the most widely circulated book throughout Europe, as a text-book in gentlemanly manners. It was published in Italian about 1558, and was translated into Latin by Chytraeus, Professor of Poetry at Rostock. It is addressed to a young nobleman. It enters into details for polite behaviour and delicacy of manners, from the point of good taste rather than that of morality. Thus, the well-bred man must abstain from singing or humming a tune in company 'especially if he has an unmusical or rough voice.' He must not gape or show himself bored, when in company. He must not show a contempt of the world, or a sense of his own importance by dressing in a manner unsuitable to his age or station in life. He should be kind and affable in manner, not refractory. He should not be melancholy or absent-minded, nor show too great a sensibility. His conversation should not be egotistic. He should not perpetually recount his dreams. Vanity should not lead him into lie-telling. Compliments must be paid, according to custom, but the nobleman must be on guard and distinguish between those he pays from vanity, self-interest, and from sense of duty. A subject to which much attention was paid, theoretically, in the 16th and 17th centuries is dealt with by de la Casa—the government of the tongue. Precepts are laid down for advice-giving. Limits are set on ridicule. Indiscriminate punning and buffoonery are condemned. Rules are suggested for satisfactory telling of stories. Beauty and grace are to be cultivated. Right gait or motion, behaviour at table are fully described and importance of small details in manners shown, by insisting on the resultance of their accumulation, in the view of a man's bearing as a whole. The treatise is throughout practical, the examples sometimes running into short stories, are to the point, and make the book interesting. The aim is not character-building, but that of *savoir-faire* and the avoidance of *gaucherie* in company.

There can be no doubt that the book is important in the history of manners. Its sphere of influence, however, was in the private education of gentlemen, not in the public schools.

Note B.

Representative Bibliography of further English (published) Books on Manners, etc., up to 1660.

Caxton (William). *The Book of Good Manners. Fynisshed and translated out of frensshe into englisshe the viii. day of Juyn the yere of our lord* MIIIIᶜ LXXXVI *and the first yere of the regne of Kyng harry the VII. And imprynted the xi day of Maye after etc.* (1487) fol.

Barclay (Alexander). *Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyse, intituled the myrrour of good maners,...containing the Four Cardinal Virtues translated into englysshe...by A. Bercley* 1508 *and* 1570. [Translated from Dominicus Mancin.] See Note A.

Sulpitius (Joannes). Begin. [Fol. 1. recto:] *Stâs puer ad mensâ* [Verso:] *J. Sulpitii Verulani...de moribus puerorum precipue î mêsa servâdis. Carmen Juvenile paucis ab Ascensio explanatum, etc. B.L. Per Wynâdum de Worde, Lôdoniis* 1515, 4to.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca. *A frutefull Worke etc. called the Myrrour or Glasse of Manners and Wysedome, both in Latin and in Englyshe; by Robert Wythington.* Lond. 1547. The Works of Seneca were afterwards translated by Thomas Lodge, 1614.

Paynell, Thomas. *The Civility of Childhood, with the Discipline and Institution of Childhood.* Lond. 1560, 8vo.

Hall, John, M.D. *The Court of Vertue; contayning many Holy or Spretual Songes, Sonnettes, Psalmes, Ballets, and Shorte Sentences as well of Holy Scripture and others; with music notes.* Lond. 1565, 16mo.

Leoni, Tommaso. *The Book of Wisdom, otherwise called the Flower of Virtue. From the French version of the Italian original by John Larke.* N.d. (?1565), 8vo.

Viret, Pierre. Trans. by John Shute. *The First Part of the Christian Instruction.* Lond. 1565, 4to.

Baldwin, William. *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy, Gathered and Englished by William Baldwin; now the third time enlarged by Thomas Paulfreyman.* Lond. 1567, 12mo.

Mancinus, Dominicus. *A Plain Path to perfect Virtue.* Trs. George Turberoole. Lond. 1568, 8vo. See Note A.

Elviden, Edmund. (1) *The Closet of Counsels containing the advice of divers wise Philosophers touching sundry moral matters, in Poesies, Precepts, Proverbs and Parables: translated and collected by Edmund Elviden.* (2) *A Pithy Description of the Abuses and the Varieties of the World.* Lond. 1569, 8vo.

Valerius, Cornelius. *A Casket of Jewels, containing a plain description of Moral Philosophy.* Trs. J.C. [John Charlton]. Lond. 1571, 8vo.

Sandford, James. *The Garden of Pleasure; containing most pleasant Tales, worthy Deeds, and witty Sayings of noble Princes, and learned Philosophers moralized. Translated by James Sandford.* Lond. 1573, 8vo.

Guevara, Antony de. Translator: Edw. Hellowes, Groome of his Majesties Leash. *A Chronicle of the Lives of tenne Emperours of Rome: wherein are discovered their beginnings, proceedings, and endings, worthie to be read, marked and remembered. Wherein are also conteyned, Lawes of speciall profite and policie; Sentences of singular shortnesse and sweetnesse;*

Orations of great gravitie and wisdome; Letters of rare learning and eloquence; Examples of Vices carefully to be avoyded; and notable Patterns of Vertue fruitfull to be followed. Translated out of Spanish by Edw. Hellowes. Lond. 1577, 4to.

Gent, S. R. *The Court of Civil Courtesie, fitly furnished with a pleasant port of stately phrases and pithy precepts; assembled in the behalf of all young Gentlemen, and others that are desirous to frame their behaviour according to their estates at all times, and in all companies; thereby to purchase worthy praise of their inferiours and estimation and credit among their betters. Out of the Italian. By S. R. Gent.* Lond. 1577, 1591, 4to.

Pritchard, T. *School of Honest and Vertuous Life.* N. d.

1581. Jones Rd., Schoolmaster at Cardiff. *Instructions for Christians.*

Twyne, T. *The Schoolemaster or Teacher of Table Phylosophie... Gathered out of divers ...Auethors* [*or rather for the most part translated from "Mensa Philosophica"*] *and divided into foure...Treatises, etc.* [*By T. Twyne.*] *B. L.* R. Johnes, London, 1583, 4to.

Bruto, Giovanni Michele. *The Necessary fit and convenient Education of a young Gentlewoman. Trs. W. P.*

Guazzo (Stefano). *The civile Conversation of M. S. Guazzo, written first in Italian, divided into four bookes, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie...In the fourth is set down the forme of Civile Conversation...translated out of Italian...by B. Young.* London, 1586.

L. William, Marquis of Winchester. *The Lord Marques Idleness; conteining manifold matters of acceptable advice; as, safe sentences, prudent precepts, morall examples, sweet similitudes, proper comparisons, and other remembrances of speciall choris. No less pleasant to peruse than profitable to practise; compiled by the honorable L. William, Marques of Winchester that now is.* Lond. 1586, 4to.

Primaudaye, Peter de la. *The French Academie; wherein is discoursed the Institution of Manners, and whatsoever else concerneth the goode and happie life of all estates and callings, by precepts of doctrine, and examples of the lives of ancient Sages and famous men; translated by T. Bowes.* Lond. 1586, 1589, 4to. Lond. 1618, fol. *The 2d Part of the French Academie; wherein, as it were by a naturall historie of the bodie and soule of man, the creation, matter, composition, forme, nature, profite and use of all the partes of the frame of man are handled, with the naturall causes of all affections, vertues and vices, and chiefly the nature, powers, workes and immortalitie of the soule; translated out of the second edition by T. B.* (*Tho. Bowes*). Lond. 1594, 4to, and 1618 fol.

Lemnius, Lerinus. Translated by Henry Kinder. *The Sanctuarie of Salvation, Helmet of Health, and Mirrour of Modestie and Good Maners; wherein is conteined, an exhortation unto the institution of a Christian,*

vertuous, honest and laudable Life; very behovefull, holsome, and fruitfull, both to the highest and lowest degrees of men which desire either health of bodie or salvation of soule. Translated from the Latin by Henry Kinder. Lond. c. 1588, 8vo.

Gibbon, Charles. *The Praise of a good Name; the Reproach of an ill Name: with certain pithy Apothegms, etc.* Lond. 1554, 4to.

A Table of good Nurture: wherein is contained a Schoolemasters admonition to his Schollers to learne good manners, etc. (*The Second Table of good Nurture*) [*Two Ballads*] *B. L.* Printed...for H. G., London [1625?].

Virgin. *The Virgins A.B.C.; or, an alphabet of vertuous admonitions for a chaste, modest, and well-governed maid* (A Ballad) B. L. Two pts. Printed by M. P. for F. Coules, London [1630?], Broadsides.

Brathwait, R. *Academy for the Gentry, for their accomplishment in arguments of discourse, habit, fashion, summed up in a Character of honour.* 4to. (Mentioned in William London's Catalogue.)

Spencer, John. *Things New and Old; or a Storehouse of Similies, Sentences, Allegories, etc.* Lond. 1658.

Note C.

Statutes prescribing Manners and Morals of Schoolmasters.

Manchester, 1528.

That the said Hugh Bexwyk and Johann Bexwyk, during their life and the longer lives of them, shall name, choose and elect a convenient person and schoolmaster, single man, priest or no priest, so that he be no Religious man[1], being a man honest of his living and whole of body, as not being vexed or infect with any continual Infirmity or disease and having sufficient Literature and Learning to be a schoolmaster and able to teach children grammar.

East Retford, 1552.

We ordain and establish...that if the schoolmaster or Usher be a common Drunkard or shall be remiss or negligent in teaching the scholars of the said school, or have or use any evil or notable crime offence or condition—he shall have three several monitions, and then, if he does not amend, be expelled forth from his post.

[1] i.e. belong to no Religious Order of Monks. The same regulation that the master be *non religiosum* held at Kirkby on the Hill near Richmond (Statutes 1556, i.e. in the reign of Philip and Mary).

Manners. East Retford Grammar School, 1552.

On entrance to Mastership, the Master was to be addressed by Bailiffs and Burgesses in these words:

'Sir, Ye are chosen to be Schoolmaster or Usher of this School, to teach scholars hither resorting, not only Grammar and other virtuous Doctrine, but also good Manners....'

Conditions of Masters. Oundle, 1556.

That neither the Master nor Usher shall be common Gamesters, haunters of Taverns, neither to exceed in apparel, nor any other ways to be an infamy to the School, or give evil example to the scholars, to whom in all points they ought to show themselves examples of honest, continent and Godly behaviour.

Witton, 1558.

I do ordain and will that the schoolmaster be learned, sober, discreet and unmarried; such a one as hath taken a Degree or Degrees in the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge; undefamed and of the age of Thirty years at the least, to the end that experience may appear in his conversation and life, and that more obedience may be used towards him for the same.... Even as the continuance of a Schoolmaster that doth his duty, tendeth to the profit of the scholars and maketh them prosper as well in manners as in learning is profitable and commendable as nothing more, so likewise it is the greatest hindrance to the scholars to have a schoolmaster that is negligent in his office, or doth not profit his Scholars, dissolute in manners, a drunkard, a whoremonger, or intangled with other occupations repugnant to his vocation, a dicer, or a common gamester, I will therefore if any such chances to be placed, that those which have or shall have authority to place or admit him, shall likewise after examination and due proof thereof made, have authority to remove him.

Merchant Taylors, 1560. (So too *St Mary Overy or St Saviour, Southwark*, 1562, *with Minister instead of Priest.*)

Head Master to be a man in body whole, sober, discreet, honest, virtuous and learned in good and clean Latin Literature and also in Greek if such can be gotten. A wedded man, a single man, or a priest that hath no benefice, with cure, office, nor service that may let his due business in the school.

In 1614 the new Statutes of St Saviour's becomes:

The schoolmaster shall be a Master of Arts, or a man sound in Christian Religion, according to the laws of this land, sound and whole in body and mind, in his conversation gentle, sober, honest and virtuous, and discreet for learning—well skilled in the Latin tongue and able to teach Grammar

Oratory, and Poetry, and the Greek as also the principles of Hebrew. Especially he shall be well experienced and much approved, at least for seven years for a good facility and dexterity in teaching and profiting children, if such may be gotten, otherwise one that is as near to these qualifications as they can conveniently procure, (a native of St Saviour's parish, *ceteris paribus* to be chosen)....He shall be a man of a wise, sociable and loving disposition not hasty or furious, nor of any ill example, he shall be wise and of good experience to discern the nature of every several child, to work upon their disposition for the greatest advantage, benefit and comfort of the child, to learn with the love of his book, if such a one may be got.

Guisborough (*Yorks.*), 1561.

That no persons shall be chosen or admitted to be Masters of the scholars except he be sufficiently learned and exercised in Grammar, honest in conditions and living, and a Priest in Orders at the time of his admission and no Scot or Stranger born. But if a Priest cannot be gotten within a reasonable time at every vacation, then a Layman being unmarried and of such qualities and conditions as is before said, may be chosen and admitted to the said office But if after his admission he do marry, then immediately his said office shall be void, and the said Wardens shall remove and utterly put him from the same for ever.

Kirkby Stephen (*Westmorland*), 1566.

I will that if the schoolmaster be given to unlawful pastimes or drunkenness, or else be noted openly to have an evil name, or any other detestable vice or deed which shall require or need ecclesiastical restraint or correction then shall such vice or offence be redressed by the Bishop or ordinary of the Diocese of Carlisle according to the ecclesiastical or common law.

The Schoolmaster's Oath. Kirkby Stephen (*Westmorland*), 1566.

'I do swear by the contents of this book, that I shall freely without exacting any money, diligently instruct and teach the children of this parish, and all others that shall resort to me, in Grammar and other humane doctrine, according to the Statutes thereof made,—and I shall not read to them any corrupt or reprobate books or works set forth at any time contrary to the determination of the universal catholic church, whereby they may be infected in their youth in any kind of heresy or corrupt doctrine, or else to be induced to insolent manner of living: And further shall observe all the statutes and ordinances of this school now made, or hereafter to be made which concern me, and shall do nothing in the prejudice thereof, but help to maintain the same from time to time during my abode herein to the best of my power, so help my God, and the contents of this book.'

Rivington Grammar School, 1566.

But above all things both the Master and the Usher shall continually move their Scholars to godliness, both in manners and conditions; and prosper their studies, that they may serve God and the Commonwealth diligently, as becometh Christians and faithful members of his church; teaching and noting unto them such wise and godly sentences out of the Scriptures, and other authors, as may stir them up more earnestly thereto and will them to learn them by heart, and oft think upon them.

The Statute appointed to be read by the Usher, before the parishioners of Thame, the first Sunday after his admission (1574).

'The duty and charge that properly appertaineth to a schoolmaster and Usher within the School wherein they teach their scholars seemeth in manner to be much like, and not far distant from that, which the chief master and governor of a ship hath to perform and discharge in sailing upon the seas: whereby the said schoolmaster and Usher should endeavour to the uttermost they may, so to lay the foundation and groundwork of all good arts and sciences to be builded upon the same, that the youth committed unto their charge, may neither through blind ignorance, and lack of knowledge be nousled up in darkness and want of good learning: nor by their evil ensample of corrupt living be so trained up in vice, that they may seem to hazard, and in manner to mar all that ever they go about, even at the very beginning itself of their tender age: much like unto unwise mariners, that do run upon shelves, rocks or quicksands, at their very first letting forth out of the haven. In consideration whereof the cark and care which ought in this behalf to be had and used in the said offices, may worthily seem more needful and requisite: forasmuch as the hazarding and damage of the soul and mind of man is far more grievous and of more weight, than any bodily loss or harms; if any fault should happen or fall unto youth, while they are as yet under teaching and learning at their masters' hands, scarce able to be amended and recovered, during their whole life afterward; the manner and fashion of learning any property or quality in tender age, being in manner like even as the Physician observeth it to be in the body of man: that if the first digestion of the meat which is eaten, become faulty and wanting of his perfection, it will scarcely and very hardly be amended or bettered in the rest that follow, but wax rather worse, than recover itself unto any perfect estate. And again, how dangerous a matter it is in sailing upon the seas, through the default or lack of skill in the chief mariner to run upon rocks, or else by wreck to lose good merchandize, it appeareth so evident, and is so well known of all men, that a man needeth not to use many words in declaring the same: forasmuch as no man doubteth, but that the safety of the whole vessell dependeth on his

behaviour, if it be well governed; and likewise being ill-governed, it must needs fall headlong (as it were) into very great danger, and leese [i.e. lose] more than can well afterward be recovered. The loss and damage whereof, many times seemeth to be of so much the less value, as the merchandize thereby lost, are the less set by and regarded. But here now on the other part, as concerning the due government of this ship or vessell appointed for the traffic and achieving of good learning, whereon young men's behaviour, talk, dealings, countenances and gestures of their whole bodies, yea and their conditions also and trade of living, are and ought to be shaped, framed and fashioned; if any fault should happen (which God forbid) through lack of knowledge, or other such like oversight of their governors and teachers: what were that else to be accompted of or to be termed otherwise, but even the utter subversion and overthrow of the whole charge committed in that behalf? the ruin and decay of all good nurture, yea, and the utter undoing of as good wits as any can be? So that both schoolmaster and Usher may easily gather and understand thereby, how diligent either of them ought to be, what cark and care their office necessarily requireth, who shall take upon them to teach in School: that they perform the same thoroughly in all respects, without any slight or slender demeanour to be used therein: But so rather to behave themselves, that they may both read now and then, and oft repeat unto themselves, those words of St Paul, where he saith, "Thou that art a schoolmaster unto other, teachest not thou thyself first of all?" (Rom. 2.) whereat not to blush at all, nor to be made ashamed, in reading or repeating thereof: but that he may go forward still, and apply that other saying of the said Apostle unto himself privately, which he speaketh generally unto all men, what estate soever they be of: "Let every man walk in that vocation, whereunto God both called him, whether it be a schoolmaster in schooling others, or the officer in careful administration of his office."'

Sandwich (*Kent*), 1580. *Sir Roger Manwood.*

I ordain that the Master and Usher shall neither of them be a common gamester and haunter of Taverns, nor by any extraordinary or unnecessary expenses in apparel or otherwise become an infamy to the school, and an evil example to the young; to whom in all points they ought to show themselves an example of honest, continent and godly behaviour.

(Almost the same words in Oundle Statutes, 1556.)

Schoolmaster. Sandwich (*Kent*), 1580.

The Schoolmaster to be well reported of, Master of Arts in Degree if it may be conveniently; always foreseen that the schoolmaster and usher teach the Grammar for the time appointed by common authority or shorter grammars being not prohibited. And that the schoolmaster be first allowed by the Ordinary and by examination found meet both for his learning and

discretion of teaching, as also for his honest conversation and right understanding of God's true religion now set forth by public authority; whereunto he shall stir and move his scholars, and also shall prescribe unto them such sentences of Holy Scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to godliness.

Conditions of Master. Giggleswick Grammar School. Statutes after 1553. *Confirmed* 1592.

The schoolmaster to be chosen from time to time shall be a man fearing God, of true religion and godly conversation, not given to dicing, carding, or other unlawful games, but being admitted to the charge of the said school, shall faithfully follow the same.

Popish Authors. Giggleswick Grammar School, 1553–92.

He shall not teach his scholars any unsavoury and popish authors which may either infect the young wits of scholars with heresies or corrupt their lives with uncleanness.

Chigwell, 1629.

The Quality of the Latin Schoolmaster.

I constitute and appoint that the Latin Schoolmaster be a Graduate of one of the Universities, not under seven and twenty years of age, a man skilful in the Greek and Latin Tongues, a good poet, of a sound Religion, neither Papist nor Puritan, of a grave Behaviour, of a sober and honest conversation, no Tipler nor Haunter of Alehouses, no Puffer of Tobacco; and above all that he be apt to teach and severe in his Government: And all Election or Elections otherwise made, I declare them to be void *ipso facto*, as if he were dead.

Charterhouse, 1627.

The schoolmaster shall be of 27 years of age at the least, a Master of Arts, of good reputation both for his life and learning in the Latin and Greek tongues.

The schoolmaster and usher shall be careful and discreet to observe the nature and *ingeny* of their scholars and accordingly instruct and correct them. In correction they shall be moderate; in Instruction diligent, correcting according to the quality of the fault, in matter of manners, and according to the capacity of the fault in matter of learning.

Lewisham, founded 1647. *The following Order is somewhat later.*

The Head Master is not to undertake any Church duty, without special leave of the Trustees, by whom he may be displaced if he be guilty of any notorious misbehaviour,—especially 'if he give scandal or evil example to the scholars or others by being a gamester and diver [?dicer] or a frequenter

of Taverns and Alehouses, or a drunkard or whoremonger, or given to wanton dalliances, and unseemly behaviour with women, or lavish in unnecessary expenses, in following vain gaudy fashions of apparel, or if he wear long curled or Ruffin-like hair, or if he be a swearer and curser, or if he be unsound in the Faith and corrupt in Religion, either Papist or Popishly affected, or an Armenian, or Socinian, or Anabaptist, or one holding and broaching heresies, and gross erroneous opinions contrary to the Articles of our Christian Faith, and of the true Religion, established of the Church of England and confirmed by public authority of public Laws and Statutes.'

Wigan, 1664.

Schoolmaster or Usher to be removed 'if found insufficient, or remissly negligent, or upon just occasion be detected of notorious licentiousness such as common swearing, drunkenness, a common haunter of alehouses and taverns, or otherwise scandalous, or shall take upon him any other charge or employment to the hindrance of his or their employment of the duty of the said places...'.

No schoolmaster or Usher shall keep any alehouse or tavern or house of gaming, or other unthriftiness or evil rule. (So Lymm, Cheshire, 1698 and 1813.)

(The Master or Usher if visited by a horrible loathsome or contagious disease shall be removed, though he is to be granted some charitable relief from the revenues of the School.)

Note D.

Statutes relating to the Manners and Morals of Scholars.

Conduct. Manchester Grammar School, 1528.

No scholar there being at School [shall] wear any dagger, hanger, or other weapon invasive, nor bring into the School, staff or bat, except their meat knife.

That no scholar there make any affray within the same School upon the Master, the Usher or upon any other scholar of the same School, upon pain of leaving off his said School by one month. And if any scholar there make two frays as above is said, then to leave the same School by the space of two months. And if any make the third, he is to be banished the same School for ever without any favour.

Conduct (*King Edward VI's Commissioners Injunctions to Winchester*, 1547).

As well any Minister and Ecclesiastical Person in the College, as other Laymen and Servants, shall abstain from all manner of ribald words and filthy communication, and other uncomely and light demeanour, lest the tender youth hearing and conceiving the same, may thereby be infected and provoked to vice.

Conduct of Scholars 'abroad.' Giggleswick, 1553.

What scholar or scholars soever shall commit any misdemeanour, or behave themselves unreverently at home or abroad, either towards their parents, friends, strangers or others whosoever, or who shall complain of correction moderately given him by the master or usher, shall be severely corrected for the same, upon due knowledge first given of the same to the said master or usher.

Swearing. Oundle, 1566.

To cause the Scholars to refrain from the detestable vice of swearing or ribald words, be it ordered, for every oath or ribald word spoken in the school or elsewhere, the Scholar to have three stripes.

Swearing. Dronfield, 1579.

That scholars be corrected for swearing with the rod.....that monitors be appointed to present (boys') rudeness, irreverence, or indecent demeanour in the streets, the Church, or their public sports.

Schoolmasters not to curse or revile their scholars.

Scholars' manners. Harrow rules, 1580.

The schoolmaster shall have regard to the manners of his scholars, and see that they come not uncombed, unwashed, ragged, or slovenly; but before all things, he shall punish severely lying, picking, stealing, fighting, filthiness, or wantonness of speech and such like.

Behaviour. Sandwich, 1580.

Every absence from Church or such assemblies and every unreverent behaviour at any time, to be sharply punished: and likewise honesty and cleanliness of life, speech, and manners, and namely lowliness and courtesy to be stablished by all good means; pride, ribaldry, lying, picking, and blaspheming to be sharply punished.

Swearing, etc. St Bees, 1583. *Order to Scholars.*

If any of them shall use swearing, filthy talk, lewd and licentious books or songs, they shall be sharply punished.

Conduct of Scholars. Games. Hawkshead, 1585.

They shall use no weapons in the School as sword, dagger, waster, or other like, to fight or brawl withal, nor any unlawful gaming in the School.—They shall not haunt taverns, alehouses, or playing at any unlawful games as cards, dice-tables or such like. Also they shall keep the hours in coming to the School, before in these Statutes mentioned.

Molestation of Master. Alford Grammar School Statutes, 1599.

That no man shall have authority to taunt and check the schoolmaster, or to intermeddle with anything pertaining to his duty, but only the Governors of the School.

It shall be lawful for the schoolmaster to expel and refuse as scholars, all such as shall falsely and scandalously report anything of the schoolmaster (the Governors first certified thereof). Yea, and that it shall be lawful for the schoolmaster to refuse to admit, and to expulse all those whose Parents have falsely scandalised the schoolmaster by any evil reports, nevertheless this whole charge to be moderated by the Governors.

Duties of boys. Heath Grammar School Statutes, c. 1600.

That they rise early in the morning, reverence their parents, love and obey both father and mother, and give good example to the whole family.

That they come early to the School without lingering, play or noise by the way, saluting those they meet bareheaded.

When the Master or Usher or any stranger entereth into the School, that they salute them, rising up dutifully, and presently sit down again with silence and apply their books.

That they wander not up and down in the School, but rest orderly in their appointed place, labour their morning task and appointed lectures with great diligence, striving rather for high commendations of their Master and strangers than for rebuke and blame.

Swearing. Heath Grammar School Statutes.

That they take not God's Name in vain by swearing in their ordinary communication, by forswearing, cursing themselves or others, lying, laughing, and vain shouting, idle and light use of God's titles, works and Word.

Boys' Conduct. Heath Grammar School Statutes.

If any scholar use railing, wrangling, fighting, giving by-names, or offer any the like abuse to his fellows, or any stranger in the ways, he shall be severely punished, and if he continue thus to molest and harm others, he shall be expelled the school.

Conduct to Masters. Heath Grammar School Statutes.

If any scholar brave out contempt against his Master or the Usher, or give out evil words, or be repugnant and refractory to their commandments and rebelliously withstand their correction, or complain of correction moderately given, or tell abroad who are corrected in the School; if he do not presently humble himself and obey the Master and Usher, he shall be expelled the School.

Apparel, etc. Heath Grammar School Statutes.

If any scholar shall go undecently in his apparel, and not carry himself reverently in his gesture, words, and deeds, or use long hair on his head undecently or come with face and hands unwashed, he shall be severely punished, and upon the second admonition, if he do not reform, he shall be expelled the School.

Conduct of Scholars. Newport (Salop), 1656.

The Master and Usher shall have a special care to the good manners and decent deportment of the Scholars, and shall exemplarily punish all misdemeanours, especially the sins of swearing, cursing, lying, filching, filthy or obscene talking, or acting, gaming for anything of price, and foul language to any person, and in an especial manner shall diligently endeavour to see the Lord's Day kept free from any profanation (as much as in them lieth) as well after as under the public ordinances, by all their Scholars.

Conduct of Scholars. Wigan, 1664.

The Master and Usher shall have a special care to the good manners and decent deportment of the scholars towards all persons, and shall exemplarily punish all misdemeanours, especially the crimes of swearing, cursing, lying, drunkenness, filthy or obscene talking, or acting, reproaching or miscalling persons by foul language, gaming for anything of price, and in an especial manner, shall diligently endeavour to see the Lord's Day kept free from any profanation, (as much as in them lieth) as well after, as during the Scholars being in the Church.

Frays. Wigan, 1664.

Any scholar bringing any weapon to school or making any affray is to be liable to severe correction. Any scholar who is a common quarreller, and setter of debate and fightings amongst the scholars to be expelled, if he does not amend after correction and admonition.

Stubbornness against and Molestation of Masters. Wigan, 1664 (cf. *Alford*).

All scholars of what degree soever, are to submit to due correction from their schoolmaster or usher, which shall be promised by their parents at their admission, and referred to the schoolmaster's discretion; and all

stubborn and disobedient scholars that are pertinaciously and exemplarily bad, by resisting the Master or Usher, or offering to struggle with, strike, spurn and abuse, the Master or Usher when he or they are orderly correcting them for their fault after two admonitions, wherewith their parents or friends shall be acquainted, shall the third time be expelled the school.

(If the parents molest the schoolmaster because he has corrected their child, the latter shall be expelled unless the parent proves to the Trustees, that the correction was unreasonable.)

Swearing. Hereford (*Regulations*, 1665).

The said Scholemaster and Usher are required to have a special regard as well to the sober and civil demeanour of their Schollers as to their good lyturature, and especially to keepe them from that wicked vice of swearing (the epydemicall synne of this cytty), and alsoe to take care that those of the poorer sort be not sordidly or uncleanly habited or kept, to the offence of others of better quality, and to the scand-all of the Schole.

CHAPTER VII.

MEDIAEVAL ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.

Mr Leach[1] has shown that pre-Reformation Elementary Schools were swept away by the Chantries Act as readily as Grammar Schools. The number of schools mentioned in the documents regarding the dissolution is 259. Of these 213 according to Mr Leach's reckoning were Grammar Schools. The Elementary Schools, Mr Leach puts at 45.

The Elementary Schools were called by four names: The A B C schools; Reading, Writing and Song Schools.

There were A B C Schools as described in the Chantry Certificates[2], 1545–6, in the following places:

Brecknock (Brecon); *Glasney* (Cornwall); *Launceston.*

The Reading Schools mentioned are:

Bocking (Essex); *Bromyard* (Hereford); *Kingley* (Staff.); *Montgomery.*

Writing Schools.

Bocking, Bromyard, and Montgomery in the list of Reading Schools were also Writing Schools. At Burgh-under-Staynsmore in Westmorland there was a Free Grammar School and stipendiary in the parish there, of the foundation of John Brounscalles 'to kepe a Free grammar schole and to saye devyne Service there, and also to teache scholers to wryte, which is observed accordingly.' Other writing schools mentioned are in Yorkshire at *Normanton*, and at *Rotherham.*

[1] *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1546–8.

[2] Reprinted in Mr Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation.*

Mr Leach has worked out the amount of stipends paid to the schoolmasters mentioned in the records of the Commissioners under the Chantry Acts of 1546 and 1548. The average money payment was £6. 9*s*. 6*d*. a year, for each schoolmaster. The chantry priest, as such, on an average received about £5 a year[1]. 'Several teachers of the A B C appear, who only received 13*s*. 4*d*. a year.' In the instance above, at Launceston, it appears that the A B C teacher was 'an aged man chosen by the mayer,' and at Glasney, the A B C schoolmaster was the bell-ringer. Aymestry (Herefordshire) in 1515 had the Parish Sexton as Schoolmaster (de Montmorency, p. 188). It is evident that the A B C schoolmasters were only men of the slightest qualifications. There does not appear to be much difference in standing between the master of the Reading School and the Writing School. Indeed, usually the same master taught both. The fact is, of course, the real difference in *status* was between the teacher of Grammar, and the teacher of elementary subjects[2]. It appears from the records that in most cases, Chantry Schools had but one master, who apparently taught the elementary subjects and grammar. Supposing a chantry-priest-schoolmaster had had a University education, he would have gone through a system of listening to lectures, and taking part in disputations. There would be no guarantee of his ability as a calligrapher and not much security, necessarily, of fluent reading. It may, therefore, be concluded that though there must have been some elementary training in, say, the whole of the 259 schools named in the records, yet the amount of attention paid to it must, on the whole, have been even less than when Richard Mulcaster, in 1581, bemoans the 'imperfection at this day (of elementary boys' instruction) so that we

[1] There were sometimes other perquisites.

[2] At Rotherham, the Grammar Master received in all £10. 15*s*. 4*d*. a year; the Song Master, £7. 8*s*. 8*d*. and the Writing Master, £6. 6*s*. 0*d*. But this was specially good payment.

can hardly do any good...the ground work of their entry being so rotten underneath.' Even in the cases where there were elementary institutions, the A B C, Reading and Writing Schools, the level of attainment, in preparation for grammar work, much less for an education which should end at the elementary stage, cannot be assumed to have been, generally, anything but very fragmentary.

In the Statutes for Cuckfield Grammar School, 1529, is ordered that 'At Afternoon they (the boys) shall learn and recite or read Legends or the Psalter, to be more prompt in reading.' It is clear, therefore, that the Psalter was used as a reading book.

But it is likely that the Psalter was learned to some extent, and sung, before the pupils read it in the school. It may be thought, too, that the knowledge which boys had of portions of the Church Service before they came to read them was no small help in learning to read. When pupils had learned to read the psalms, of course, in Latin, there awaited them the *Expositiones psalmarum*, to be read in the Grammar School, as indeed, there were the *Expositiones Hynorum et Sequentiarum*. That there was any reading of the Vernacular in the Mediaeval Schools, is very unlikely. So, in writing, such as there was, would probably be of Latin. The copy set for beginners in writing in the early Monastic Schools introduced every letter of the alphabet and was:

Adnexique globum Zephyrique Kauna secabant[1].

The use of Latin for reading and writing exercises, probably accounts for the rarity of instances of English epistles and other indications of ability to write, amongst even well brought up persons. No English Composition was taught and as a matter of fact no well-instructed man or woman was particularly concerned to show that he could use his mother-tongue, even if he had the ability actually to 'write.'

The idea of writing at all in the Middle Ages was that

[1] Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 172.

of a Fine, rather than of a Mechanical, Art. Consequently it was not acquired generally, excepting by those who made a specialistic study of it for the purpose of copying and illuminating MSS. It is, therefore, to the descriptions of the Scriptoria of the Monasteries we must look for accounts of its full development. Yet the above instances of Writing Schools show that writing was taught as a school subject, and the requirement of composition of Latin themes, letters and verses, in the higher work of Grammar Schools and Universities probably implies that it was an accomplishment more generally cultivated than is ordinarily supposed. It is evident, however, before the introduction of printing, when the instruction was chiefly oral, and more emphasis was necessarily laid upon retention by the memory rather than by note-taking, that writing would hold even for the well-instructed pupils a less prominent place in school-work than was the case later on—not necessarily, from an educational point of view, an entire disadvantage. The development of a system of commonplace books which Renascence and later scholars found necessary, led to the mechanical exercise of copying passages by writing. This was necessitated by the enormous stores of knowledge brought to light and within the grasp of the student, if only he could retain them, or by copying, have them in his possession for reference when composing in Latin[1]. Selection of passages became essential, and the 16th and 17th centuries saw the practice become almost universal in good schools of the keeping of 'paper-books,' into

[1] As to the writing of the 17th century Wase in 1678 refers to the 'ordinary censure' as if a bad hand 'were the property of a good scholar' and gives this explanation. 'In former times when books were rare, scholars took in notes their masters' dictates: which that they might more readily dispatch they practised Abridgements and fell into deficient characters. This habit improved the learning but withal impaired the writing. A legible hand endeavoured, seems to carry with it some respect to the reader, and easy flourishes, in their place add grace and distinction, sometimes dignity, though it be useful for all to write, it is not therefore necessary for all to embellish.' (*Considerations concerning Free Schools*, p. 107.)

which the pupil entered by his own writing, all kinds of material from classical authors, in the way of phrases, sententiae, and passages—which would serve him for his exercise in themes, verses, and orations. The fact that in the earlier period the aim of Latin-teaching was dominated by the desire of bringing pupils to speak Latin as well as to write it, whilst later on, Grammar Schools were satisfied to treat Latin as a dead language, together with the introduction of the printed book, changed the outlook of the schools from the cultivation of the ear to the development of learning by sight. In the earlier period, the student had to consider whether a rendering sounded right; in the later whether it looked right. Consequently, no development in the Elementary School shows itself more markedly than the increased importance attached to writing. The Tudor and Stuart teaching of writing will be dealt with in a later chapter[1].

Speaking of pre-Reformation Grammar Schools, Mr Leach criticises adversely the supposition that schools 'taught boys nothing but to stumble through a hymnal or psalter.' Miss Drane would seem to err too far on the other side by supposing that the elementary Mediaeval Schools taught such subjects as Geography.

It is reasonable to suppose that in ages marked by absence of books and the prevalence of oral instruction only, much instruction may have taken place in a versified form, and that this may have been imparted to those even who did not learn to read. Much of the services of the Church and the significance of ceremonial, in the picturesque processions and functions, religious and secular, of the Middle Ages, may have been readily assimilated without the application of text-book methods. Even to-day the length of the months is often remembered by the lines beginning:

> Thirty days hath September,
> April, June, and November, etc.,

[1] Chap. XI.

and it is very doubtful if a very large proportion of the population who know the lines, ever learned them from the printed page.

In such an age, of ceremonial, religious, and oral teaching no subject at the elementary stage would have greater claims than singing. There can be no doubt that the singing, as we should expect, held a leading place in the curriculum. The most important type of Elementary School before the Reformation was neither the A B C School, the Writing School, nor even the Reading School, but the Song School. 'No one,' said Horman, in his *Vulgaria*, 'can be a grammarian without a knowledge of music'; words significant enough in 1520 and earlier, but obscure in a profound degree, to us now.

In 1514 a chantry was endowed in the Chapel of Our Blessed Lady in the South Aisle of Blackburn Church. There the chantry priest was to be 'an honest secular priest, and no regular, sufficiently lerned in gramer and playn song, y^f^ any such can be gotten, that shall kepe continually a fre gramer schole.' And if no secular priest can be found that is able and sufficiently 'lerned in gramer and plain song' then they were to find 'an able secular priest, who is expert, and can sing both prick song and plain song and hath a sight in descant, who shall teach a free song school in Blackburn[1].'

The qualifications of a chantry priest were explicitly stated to be grammar and music. For example, at Giggleswick and at Tutthill in Yorkshire the rood chantry priest was required to be sufficiently seen 'in plain song and grammar.' And so, in the College of Bradgate in Kent, in the 15th century the chaplain must be able 'bene legere, bene construere et bene cantare.' In the larger schools, especially in new foundations, the tendency set in to differentiate the teaching of grammar and music, by the appointment of separate masters. This was suggested as far back as 796 in the case of York School by Alcuin, who proposed a division of scholars into those who

[1] Whitaker's *Whalley*, II. 322.

read, chant and write[1]. The founders, Wykeham at Winchester, Chichele at Higham Ferrers, and Archbishop Rotherham at Rotherham required Masters to be appointed in Grammar, Song and Writing[2].

In these and other collegiate institutions, the tendency was for the Grammar Master to claim precedence over the Song Master. Similarly in the cases where Song Schools existed apart from Grammar Schools, the latter usually were able to assert a higher *status* over the former.

Where there were both a Grammar and a Music Master, differentiation of function carried with it, usually, the teaching of elementary subjects to the Music Master. This is shown in the case even of the Song School established by William of Waynflete in his foundation of the College of St Mary Magdalen at Oxford, probably a favourable specimen of the Song School.

Apparently the chief Song Schools which survived the Reformation (the Coventry Grammar School is an exception) were the Choristers' Schools in connexion with the Cathedrals. These tended to pass on the work of grammar and classical studies to the local Grammar Schools.

Thus in 1584, Thomas Gyles, Master of Choristers in St Paul's Cathedral, is directed to instruct them in the Catechism, Writing and Music and 'then suffer them to resort to St Paul's School that they may learn the principles of Grammar, and after as they shall be forwards, learn the said Catechism in Latin, which before they learned in English and other good books taught in the said school[3].'

But, over and above the Song Schools attached to Monastic and Collegiate Institutions, Grammar Schools, etc., there were Song Schools maintained in connexion with the private chapels of the nobles and ecclesiastics. A 'Maister of the childre'

[1] Leach, *Yorkshire Schools*, Vol. I. p. 10.
[2] Leach, *Yorkshire Schools*, Vol. II. p. 89.
[3] Churton, *Life of Nowell*, p. 190.

among the Officers of the Earl of Northumberland's Chapel was apparently appointed to control the Song School. Eight children of King Edward IV's Chapel had a 'Maister' to draw them to prick song, to grammar and 'other virtuous things.' King Edward IV also had 'a sort of Palatine Court' of six or more henxmen. Amongst the subjects in which the Master was to train them were harping, piping, singing, dancing. How widespread and effective the training in the households of the nobles was in song, we know from mediaeval romances and poems. The Knights and Squires 'coulde sing, write songs, dance and well pourtray and write.' Moreover singing and other arts of entertainment were in the Middle Ages cultivated professionally by the minstrels who were part of the equipment of noble houses. The Wars of the Roses, no doubt, swept away many of these, along with other retainers. And again, when Wolsey became Archbishop of York, in his Chapel he had amongst his household 12 choristers with a Teacher and a servant to wait on them, besides 12 singing priests and 16 singing men.

It is probable that the Song School though only concerned with Music and elementary instruction, did not, sometimes, do it very efficiently. The following passage is from a sermon preached by a Boy-Bishop, in Gloucester, 1558, addressed to the Song Schools[1].

'It is not so long sens I was one of them myself, but I kan remembre what shrewdness was used among them, which I will not speake now; but I kan not let this passe ontouched how boyyishly they behave themselves in the church, how rashly thei cum into the quare without any reverence; never knele nor countenaunce to say any prayer or Paternoster but rudely squat down on their tayles, and justle wyth ther felows for a place; a non thei startes out of the quere agayne, and in agayne and out agayne and thus one after another, I kan not tell how oft nor wherefor, but only to gadd and gas abrode,

[1] Camden Society's Reprint.

and so cum in agayne and crosse the quere from one side to another and never rest, without any order and never serve God nor our Lady with mattyns or with evynsong, no more than thei of the grammar scoles; whose behaviour is in the temple as it were in ther scole ther master beyng absent, and not in the Church, God being present.'

The pupils in the Song School were intended originally for the service of the Church as choristers, and some no doubt would enter into minor orders or as priests. Some, however, in the later centuries of mediaeval times entered secular pursuits. There is the well-known case of Thomas Tusser (1523–1580), a singing boy in the Collegiate Chapel of the Castle of Wallingford in Berkshire. He was removed to the Song School of St Paul's Cathedral and studied under Redford, a famous musician. He then went to Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was, successively, a fiddler, farmer, grazier and poet. Of the secular occupations to which pupils went, Warton names minstrels, singers, pipers, players, posture-masters. Perhaps the mediaeval occupations of jugglers, tumblers, acrobats, etc., viz. those who provided for entertainment, often came from these schools. The special Song School institution of the Boy-Bishop shows the tendency to the spectacular and histrionic. Moreover, it was to such schools, the writers of the drama, in every form, looked for actors of their plays. It is highly probable that the old song schools furnished actors for the old moralities and miracle plays, held in such close conjunction with the Collegiate Churches, which had in many cases a Song School as part of their equipment. Warton gives instances of the singing boys of Hyde Abbey and St Swithin's Priory at Winchester performing a Morality Play before King Henry VII at Winchester Castle on a Sunday in 1487 and names further instances, which place the custom beyond all doubt. Later on it is well known how the children of St Paul's Song School were recognised as a Company of Actors. It would thus appear, speaking generally, that the Song School

provided for its pupils not only a career in the Church, but also in secular pursuits, and naturally those in which singing and music, and what we may term cognate arts, especially had prominence. It thus happened that the great Elizabethan dramatists found ready to hand, pupils whose previous training and traditions made it an easy transition to cultivate the art of acting, as a profession. It is difficult to retrace exactly the work of the Song School. In the elementary subjects of reading and writing, no doubt, so far as these were attempted, the methods and work were similar to the Reading and Writing Schools, the A B C, portions of the Church Service, such as afterwards were collected into the Primer, the Legends, the Psalter, and so on. With regard to music, plainsong was to be taught, so that the child should 'help the priest to serve at Mass,' by being able to join in the responses in the Ordinary of the Mass, i.e., to say the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei. All these would naturally be learned by heart. Some pupils would go on to the Proper of the Mass, to the forms of Introit, Gradual, Offertorium, Communis, changeable according to the feast. Advanced pupils would be able to read and sing all or most of these, and would learn four-part Music for Church Service to the whole of the Ordinary and to anthems, and take part in the hymnals and antiphons. The psalms, of course, would be known by heart.

There are, in Mediaeval Service Books extant, instructions added at the end showing the way in which some amount of musical theory was taught[1]. The Tonal, which serves as a musical directory for the services of the Church shows the maximum level of the musical side of instruction for Church music. 'The name is due to the fact that its main object is to regulate the antiphonal psalmody and to secure the right connexion between the antiphon and the tones which are allied with them: but besides this the Tonal has other objects:

[1] There is such a summary in the Hereford Noted Breviary, edited by the Rev. W. H. Frere.

it gives a brief outline of the musical theory of Mediaeval times and treats of the eight "modes" or "tones" to which the plain chant belongs, their range, openings, transpositions, etc.: and by way of appendix to the full treatment of the relation of antiphons to tones in Divine Service, it adds some brief directions as to other parts of the ritual music, such as the Verse of the Responds, the Introits and their tones, and the chants to the *Venite*[1].'

[1] *The Use of Sarum*, Vol. II., Introduction, p. xxxii, edited by Rev. W. H. Frere.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1547—1660.

THE elementary instruction given in ecclesiastical institutions, particularly in the chantries, left a void not easy to be filled up. The first intention of the Reformers clearly was to require the clergy to continue the ecclesiastical function of school-teaching. One of King Edward VI's Injunctions, in 1547, is:

'That all chauntry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises.'

This Injunction was laid down between the Chantry Act of 1546 and that of 1548, the latter of which finally abolished the chantries. It shows the recognition of the educational function of the chantry priest, and asserts a usefulness which, on first thoughts, seemed desirable to be continued. On the dissolution in 1548 of the remaining chantries, the obligation on the clergy to teach children to read and write evidently ceased. The tradition remained. The clergy, as already stated, were required to give a portion of their incomes for educational purposes, a tacit endorsement of previous claims on their employment in teaching work. This levy may be said to represent the part of the clergy in secondary or grammar education in pre-Reformation times. The old claim also on a number of the chantry priests to give elementary instruction was not altogether forgotten. Thus in 1581, in his *Positions* Richard Mulcaster says: 'Every parish hath a minister, if none else in the parish, who can help writing and reading.' Mulcaster thinks

therefore, there ought to be no difficulty in providing instruction in these subjects for every child for whom teaching was desired.

Edward Coote, in 1596, in the Preface to his *English Schoolmaster*, recognises the difficulty of teaching good pronunciation in the reading lesson. 'But here,' he says, 'I must make earnest request to all careful Ministers in their parishes to repair to the schools of teachers, not grammarians, to hear and help with discretion the pronunciation of children,' taught by help of his book. In the stirring ecclesiastical events of the 16th and 17th centuries, it was soon evident that the clergy were not likely to devote themselves to the voluntary work of elementary school teaching in addition to their special duties and interests. The course of progress could only be by the steps which would lead to the emergence of teaching as an occupation sufficient of itself to occupy the whole labour of a professional class devoted to it, and each advance in the differentiation of the teaching function from the clerical function (or at least where distinct duties were attached to both functions in the same person) has been of advantage to whole-minded work. The tendency of splitting up ecclesiastical and educational functions at least made Grammar School teaching a possible profession for laymen. But the withdrawal of the clergy from teaching in the Elementary Schools, did not bring about the introduction of a professional class of elementary teachers. It led, however, to the establishment of a distinct class of Elementary Schools and more frequently still to special provision for 'petties'[1] in or out of the Grammar School. Assuming that with the exception of the Choristers Schools, the Chantries Acts of 1546–8 had led to the dissolution of Elementary Schools, and that the post-Reformation educational system started with a number of re-founded Grammar Schools only, we can see the stages of the evolution of the Elementary School, clearly marked, though the chronological order, in the instances at hand, does not always follow the logical order.

[1] 'Petties' = Fr. petits. Children of the earliest school age.

I. The necessity of elementary instruction would require, in the first instance, that Grammar Masters should combine the functions of grammar and of elementary instruction. We find them doing so at Southwark, Hartlebury (Worcestershire), Burford (Oxfordshire), Heighington (Durham), Cartmel (Lancashire), Houghton (Durham), Blechingley (Surrey), as the following examples will show.

St Olave's, Southwark.

In 1561 the Churchwardens were ordered to receive moneys due from Leeke's executors to set up a Free School and choose a schoolmaster sufficient to teach children to write and read and cast accounts.

The Master now at the beginning must take pains to teach the accidence, the Prince's Grammar, and so to train up from book to book such children as we shall appoint unto him and also to help the usher to hear one half of the petites. The usher shall set copies unto the scholars of good matter, sentences of scripture,...teaching them to read plainly and distinctly[1].

The reason is given:

'We have here great number of poor people in our parish who are not able to keep their children at grammar. But we are desirous to have them taught the principles of Christian Religion and to write, read and cast accompts, and so to put them forth to prentice.'

Hartlebury, 1565.

The Master and Usher shall at least one afternoon every week teach the scholars of the said School to write and cast accounts, whereby their hands may be directed, and so they trained to write fair hands and likewise they may not be ignorant in reckoning and accounting.

Burford Grammar School (*Oxfordshire*), 1571.

Master and Usher are required to teach Grammar, reading and writing to the boys of the town.

[1] *St Olave's Statutes*, 1571–2.

Heighington Grammar School (*Durham*), *founded* 1601.

Upon festival days and other convenient times writing and accounts were to be taught and the master was weekly to peruse their writing and cyphering and set their copies.

Cartmel, near Milnthorpe (*Lancashire*).

In 1653, Carlisle[1] states, the Master appears (from the Parish-book) to have been hired at the ancient wages, and to have had 6*d.* a quarter for Grammarians and 4*d.* for petties. In 1674 the Quarterage was raised, by order of the Vestry, from 6*d.* to 8*d.*, but remained at 4*d.* for petties.

Houghton Grammar School Statutes, 1658 (? 1582).

The Usher was to teach on playing days [i.e. holidays] and after supper the space of an hour to write, cipher, and understand their figures.

Blechingley Grammar School Statutes, 1656.

At the Free Grammar School the master to 'teach freely and without gift or reward whatsoever in the English and Latin tongues, and to write and cast accounts according to the rules of arithmetic 20 male children of the poorest inhabitants of Blechingley and born in the parish.'

The transition stage from the Grammar Master who is to combine the functions of grammar teaching and elementary instruction to the elementary teacher *ad hoc*, can be seen in the case of Northampton in which the founder leaves to his Governors the alternative.

[1] ***Endowed Schools***, I. 645. Cartmel Grammar School was not founded by a particular person, or at any stated period, nor was it originally a Free School, but merely a Parochial seminary under the authority and superintendence of the Churchwardens and sidesmen of the parish. For a series of years they hired a master and paid his salary from the interest of small sums of money left by will, at various periods, made up to the sum agreed for by a small Quarterage paid by all who sent children, except the poor, to whom the school was free....In 1619 it was agreed by the Vestry to purchase land, not to exceed £20 in value, with the School Stock, but this was not carried out till 1680, when £131. 10*s.* 0*d.* was thus expended.

Northampton Grammar School, 1596.

That there be one schoolmaster and his usher to teach the Latin, and to teach to read, write, and cast accounts, or otherwise that there be one schoolmaster to teach the Latin tongue and one other distinct schoolmaster to teach to read, write and cast accounts[1].

II. The next stage is the devolution of the teaching of *petits* upon advanced pupils in the school. This was required by the statutes of Manchester Grammar School in 1524. It was a method employed later on, as we may see from the instance of Guisborough, Rivington and Bungay.

Statutes of Guisborough Grammar School (*Yorks.*), 1561.

The School shall be divided into Four several Forms—and in the first shall be placed young beginners, commonly called *Petits*, whom the Master himself shall not be bound to teach so long as they continue there, but only assign so many of his scholars in the third and fourth forms, as may suffice to instruct them.

Rivington Grammar School, 1566.

If the number of pettys that learn to read be more than the usher well can teach, some of the eldest scholars by course may be appointed by the master and governors to help him.

Bungay School (*Suffolk*), *Thomas Popeson's Ordinance*, 1592.

'Some of the hygest forme shall weekly, by course instruct the first forme, both in their accidence, and also in giving them copies to write.'

The method of pupil teachers was therefore used in Grammar Schools in the 16th century. As there were frequently only two masters, the Head and the Usher, and from four forms upwards in a school, it is probable that pupils of the higher forms were frequently set to do what at Guisborough and Bungay they were required by Orders to do, viz. to hear the lessons of junior forms.

[1] Carlisle, II. 223.

III. Then came the substitution of an elementary master for the pupil teacher, as a teacher for the petits, as at Christ's Hospital at Basingstoke, Coxwold, and Chigwell.

Christ's Hospital had a staff which included two petty schoolmasters, probably a unique equipment.

Christ's Hospital, founded 1552.

First staff included Grammar Schoolmaster, Usher, £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* A teacher to write (also Clerk to Governors) £10. 0*s.* 0*d.*, 2 Schoolmasters for the Petties A B C each £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* But one of latter in 1570 was appointed barber as well (and neglected teaching duties). The barber was to be paid £2. 0*s.* 0*d.* a year.

Basingstoke, 1618.

By Will of Sir James Deane, 1618, £13. 6*s.* 8*d.* was to be devoted to the maintenance of a petty schoolmaster at Basingstoke 'who shall teach little children to write and read but especially to read and to learn the catechism in the principles of religion.' The lecturer or preacher was to come to school and appose once a week. The children of Free Grammar School and of Petty School were to go to every lecture preached.

Until 1771 the Corporation always appointed the parish clerk master of the 'Petty School' adjoining the Church of Basingstoke.

The Parish Clerk was in the Middle Ages often a beneficed cleric, and the office was given to poor clerks whilst studying to fit themselves for higher standing, and amongst his duties was that of teaching[1]. His duties, though sometimes deputed to a second clerk, extended to the belfry. The late Canon Raven mentions an old belfry with the Alphabet on a bell, and suggests that school children may have learned the alphabet there. If so, it is likely that the parish clerk would add to his

[1] Gasquet, *Mediaeval Parish Life*, p. 116. See also C. Atchley, *Parish Clerk* (Alcuin Club Tracts).

duties that of school teaching. This adds point to Mulcaster's words: 'If the chancel have a minister, the belfry hath a master.' This seems to suggest that parish clerks often acted as schoolmasters, and used the belfry as a schoolroom.

We can catch a glimpse of what took place in a Petty School where the parish clerk was schoolmaster by a reference to Coote (1596):

Robert (a boy): 'Goodman Taylor our clerk, when I went to school with him...taught me these syllables thus: for *bad*, *bed*, *bid*, *bod*, *bud*, I learned to say: bad, bid, bide, bod, bude, sounding a bed to lie upon, as to bid, or command and bid as bide, long as in abide; bud of a tree *bude* long like rude.'

However, a teacher might be appointed whose sole function would be to teach the petties, as at Coxwold and Chigwell:

Coxwold Grammar School (*Yorks.*), 1603.

Sir John Harte gave a schoolmaster yearly to teach the Petties or young children in Coxwold to read English 53*s.* 4*d.* The Master to receive yearly £20 for his pains and 26*s.* 8*d.* for his livery. The Usher yearly £10 for his pains and 13*s.* 4*d.* for his livery.

Chigwell (*Essex*), 1629 (Archbishop Harsnet).

The English Schoolmaster to teach gratis to read, write, cypher and cast accounts and to learn their accidence all that shall be sent to him from the parish of Chigwell.

IV. The separate Master for elementary instruction is placed in a separate school, and the Elementary School is thus entirely differentiated from the Grammar School[1]. Instances of this are Evershot near Sherborne (1628) and Exeter (1636).

These various devices provided elementary teaching in some

[1] Later, a single foundation often provided for a Latin (Grammar) School and an 'English' School, either in separate rooms, or in separate buildings. The latter term then represented substantially an Elementary School.

districts. Yet, even in the case of 'foundations' of Petty Schools the elementary instruction was often ineffective. On this point we have Hoole's testimony.

'Some nobler spirits,' he says... 'have in some places whereunto they have been by birth (or otherwise) related, erected Petty School houses, and endowed them with yearly salaries; but those are so inconsiderable toward the maintenance of a master and his family; or so overcloyed with a number of free scholars to be taught for nothing. that few men of good parts will deign to accept of them, or continue at them for any while, and for this cause I have observed such weak foundations fall to nothing.'

The raising of the standard of University Education really necessitated the provision of Elementary Schools. For the Grammar Schools improved their standard of work until in the better class of schools of the 16th century the classical teaching surpassed the classical work of the Universities in the 15th century. With good and advanced pupils to teach and a small staff ordinarily consisting of a master and an usher for teaching them, the work of preparation for the University of senior pupils became impossible if there were 'petties' requiring the instruction which preceded the learning of the Latin Grammar.

Thus at *Merchant Taylors' School* (1561) the statute enjoins:

'First see that they can the Catechism in English or Latin, and that every of the said Two Hundred and Fifty Scholars can read perfectly and write competently or else let them not be admitted in no wise.'

A number of Grammar Schools, therefore, began to impose the conditions of attainments, which obtained at St Paul's, Oundle, and Merchant Taylors', before entry into the Grammar School. For instance, in the

Alford (Lincs.) Grammar School Statutes, 1599:

'There shall none be admitted into this Grammar School before he can read perfectly and write legibly.' The statutes continue:

'That it is not accounted any part of the Schoolmaster his duties to teach any of his scholars to *write*, but of his own good will and gentleness.'

This condition involved the existence of elementary schools of some kind, in which the children could learn to 'read perfectly and write legibly.'

Schoolmasters in schools that took up the position of Merchant Taylors' School, and Alford, were sufficiently numerous and strong to see that they were 'no more charged with the teaching pettyes.' Voluntary, private schools had grown up. These schools, unfortunately, were not of a satisfactory kind. Richard Mulcaster says, in the *Positions* (1581), 'For the Elementarie (School teaching) because good scholars will not abase themselves to it, it is left to the meanest, and therefore to the worst.'

Edmund Coote says, in 1596: 'It is lamentable to see into what ignorant handling silly little children chance, which should at first be most skilfully grounded....Let parents now be careful to whom they commit their children.'

In another passage, Coote is more explicit. He explains that he wishes to make his *English Schoolmaster* available to all teachers, skilful and unskilful. The skilful or learned will readily understand his purpose, and teach with this book as text-book without further directions. 'I am now therefore to direct my speech to the unskilful, which desire to make use of it for their own private benefit, and to *such men and women of trade, as Tailors, Weavers, Shopkeepers, Seamsters, and such others as have undertaken the charge of teaching others.* [With his text-book] *thou mayest sit on thy shop-board, at thy books or thy needle, and never hinder any work to hear thy scholars*, after thou hast once made this little book familiar to thee.'

Brinsley, in 1612, has much to say on elementary instruction. He takes the Merchant Taylors' and Alford view:

'It seemeth to me an unreasonable thing that the Grammar School should be troubled with teaching A B C, seeing it is so

great a hindrance to those pains which we should take with our Grammar scholars for whom we are appointed....The very little children in a town, in most country towns which are of any bigness would require a whole man, of themselves, to be always hearing, posing, and following them, so as they ought to be applied....It were much to be wished that none might be admitted to the Grammar Schools, until they were able to read English; as, namely, that they could read the New Testament perfectly, and that they were in their accidences, or meet to enter into them.'

Brinsley, however, acknowledges that this relief cannot be afforded everywhere, and must in some cases be 'borne with patience and wisdom, as a heavy burden.' Still he suggests:

'There might be some other school in the town for these little ones. *It would help some poor man or woman, who knew not how to live otherwise*, and who might do that well if they were rightly directed.'

Brinsley proceeds to draw up a scheme of elementary instruction for petties in English reading and spelling[1]. Then he returns to the teachers who should give the teaching to the petties:

'Thus may any *poor man or woman* enter the little ones in a town together; and make an honest poor living of it, or *get somewhat towards helping the same*[2].'

Charles Hoole, in 1660, in his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* says:

'The Petty School...deserveth that more encouragement should be given to the teachers of it than that it should be left as a *work for poor women or others whose necessities compel them to undertake it as a mere shelter from beggary*.'

[1] *See* Chap. x.

[2] Brinsley adds: 'Also the parents who have any learning, may enter their little ones, playing with them at dinners and suppers, or as they sit by the fire, and find it very pleasant delight.' Anyway the Grammar Master should be left to his higher work!

In the Churchwarden's accounts of 1653 at Darlington, are educational items, which show the payments at petty schools of the humble dame-school type:

Edward Holmes a poor scholar at the *Petit* School for half-year's teaching 3*s.* 3*d.* In 1655 Roger Jewet one quarter's wage for learning a boy 1/-. Dame Seamer for her wages for teaching a boy one year 4/-. Ralph Hall for 3 lads learning one quarter 4/-. Mr Swinburne for learning John Wilson's children and Giles' daughter's child 7/-[1].

So, in the *Catalogue of Westminster Records* in 1561, in the overseers' accounts is the entry:

To Bull for teaching a childe viii*d.*; various entries for payments to help undergraduates at the University. In 1671, 2*s.* 6*d.* a week for three weeks 'for teaching the parish children,' and in 1672, Dr Busby of Westminster School 'paid £5 for teaching the parish children[2].'

In the Darlington accounts Dame Seamer received 4/- a year each pupil. The teacher who received 2*s.* 6*d.* a week (or £6. 10*s.* a year) would, at the Darlington rate, have 32 or 33 pupils. We may hazard an opinion that Dames' Schools would not ordinarily be much larger than that number. In pictures of schools, there are not so many children shown.

As to the sort of teaching prevalent in Dames' Schools, Coote has preserved a specimen which is certainly not favourable to the pronunciation taught in these schools:

John: 'So did my Dame teach to pronounce for sa, se, si, so, su, to say sa, see, si, so, sow, as if she had sent me to see her sow: whereas (e) should be sounded like the (sea) and su as to (sue) one at the Law[3].'

Coote remarks through one of his interlocutors that the vowels e, i, u, are very corruptly taught by many unskilful

[1] *Vict. Hist. Durham*, Vol. I. p. 390.

[2] These entries are given by Mr J. E. G. de Montmorency in his *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 191.

[3] *English Schoolmaster*, p. 31.

teachers and that this accounts for the great ignorance of right spelling of many people.

For its subject-matter, Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, 1582, is *facile princeps* the most important treatise not only of its date, but also for at least 250 years afterwards, on elementary instruction in the English language.

Briefly the *Elementarie* may be described as the demand for a *liberal* education from the very earliest stages of school instruction. Mulcaster attempts to show how to 'handle the young wit; how to join exercise of the body with principles of training for the mind.' He lays down a method for the teacher to teach the necessary subjects of the curriculum, which must include music and drawing. He also instructs the child as to his best methods of learning, tells him what to learn by heart, and what to study. He considers special directions, even down to details, necessary for both teachers and scholars, because 'the elementary master is not commonly the cunningest and the elementary scholar is under twelve years of age.' With the course of training described in the *Elementarie* Mulcaster maintains that the child 'shall learn the tongue [i.e. Latin] sooner, and do more between twelve and sixteen, than from seven to seventeen, if he begins without this train.' It would be difficult to show that the quality of elementary education was much improved for a hundred years after Mulcaster wrote[1].

[1] It is interesting to find a passage in a writer a hundred years later than Mulcaster, still urging Mulcaster's plea of a thorough fore-train in elementary subjects:

'The reformation of ignorant and injudicious petit schoolmasters and school madams were well worth the inspection of gravest authority; that so our noble language, towards whose completion all the best and learnedest of ancient or modern tongues, have been liberal contributors, though now debased and discredited by the ill-teaching of it, might at length be reformed and refined, and brought by a good institution to that perfection which it is capable of, and which once attained I know none that would much excel it.' Wm Walker, *Some Improvements to the Art of Teaching*, 5th ed. 1693.

It is doubtful, indeed, if many copies of Mulcaster's *Elementarie* were ever circulated. It certainly did not reach a second edition.

One of the very few descriptions of the Elementary School is that given by Hezekiah Woodward. He is speaking of a child who has just shown some skill in counting, which is noticed by his parent. 'Poor child,' says Woodward, 'he must to school to learn his mother-tongue the very next Monday. And there we suppose he is, where the mistress helps to hold the book with one hand (and if it be as I have seen) a little twig in the other, which the child marks very earnestly, as we would have it do the lesson. Here is a change now, and that will be pleasing for some hours. The next week the child will tell you when is the next holy day, for that is all he heard at church, and all he looks for, he knows when, for he finds it to be a red letter. And for the school he hath no mind to it; by his going thither and returning thence, we perceive well enough that no man loves a prison worse. Never looks he to see a merry day so long as he is pent up there. Why? Because the school indeed is but a prison to his body; and no way is taken to enlarge his mind. What a coil is there to make him pronounce false! And because he cannot readily do so, for very nature teacheth otherwise, perhaps he feels the twig too, and his sense is so given at that point, that he cannot relish the school[1].'

[1] *A Light to Grammar*, 1641, Chap. v.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ABC AND THE HORN-BOOK ABC.

Probably throughout the Middle Ages, the Alphabet and the teaching of religion went together. The Alphabet was taught as the entrance to the Latin Language, and was the entrance to the vernacular rather by accident than design. Mr W. H. Allnutt[1] gives an account of an MS. ABC of the 14th century (Hunterian Museum, Glasgow).

14TH CENTURY MS. ABC.

✠ A a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r ꝛ ſ s t u v x y z &: est amen? Paternoster with Lord's Prayer in English, the Ave, Credo, Confiteor, Misereatur, and Graces and list of Seven Sacraments.

Allnutt's Note. 'In old time they used three prickes at the latter end of the Crosse-row, and at the end of their bookes which they caused children to call tittle, tittle, tittle, signifying that as there were three pricks, and those three made but one stop, even so there were three persons and yet but one God.' '*A new Booke of new Conceits.* By Thomas Johnson, 1630.'

Copies of a printed ABC in England so early as 1520,

[1] *An early 16th century A B C in Latin after the Use of Sarum. Reproduced from the original in the Library at Lanhydrock. With a few Introductory Notes on the A B C and its History.* Privately printed for Lord Robartes (1891), to whom I am indebted for the loan of a copy.

are not extant, yet they are known to have existed, and to have been on sale by booksellers, at any rate at York[1] in 1510, and Oxford[2] in 1520.

'The Abc fore to lern red' we know from Dorne's *Day-book* was sold at 1*d.* The A B C was published in two forms, on paper and on parchment. *In papiro*, copies were ordinarily sold at 1*d.* and there are 18 entries of A B C's in paper sold by Dorne[3]. There are also 18 entries of the sale of the parchment A B C[4]. The usual price was 2*d.*

The early Primers all contain the A B C[5]. Thus, to name only three editions, particularly intended for children:

The primer in English for children after the use of Sarum, 1536–7 (?).

The Primer in English moste necessary for the educacyon of chyldren, 1539 (?) (Bishop Hilsey's Primer). John Maylart for John Wayland.

The Primer in Englishe wyth the A. B. C. for children after the use of Salisburye, 1540 (?).

These editions of the Primer especially arranged for children, naturally contain the Alphabet.

By the Injunction of 1545 schoolmasters had been required to teach the Primer or book of ordinary prayers in English

[1] *Ibid.* p. 9 quoting from R. Davies' *Memoirs of the York Press*, 1868, p. 14.

[2] John Dorne was an Oxford bookseller. His Day-book was written in 1520 and contains the names of the books sold by him, together with the prices, in his shop from day to day. His MSS. has been edited, indexed and annotated by Mr Madan, and published by the Oxford Historical Society. *Collectanea 1st series.* It is most valuable as showing the books in circulation at the time.

[3] The 18 entries represent the sale of 54 copies. The price apparently was not quite fixed. On one occasion 24 paper A B C's are sold for 10*d.* Again, at one time 3 A B C's are sold for 2*d.*; at another 2 for 2*d.*

[4] Representing the sale of 33 copies. 12 were sold at 1*s.* 2*d.*, sometimes 2 were sold together for 3*d.*, sometimes 4*d.*

[5] The Alphabet in Mediaeval times had been included in the *Horae*, from which the Primer was compiled.

after the A B C put forth at the same time by Royal Authority. The history of the A B C as an authorised English school-book has been traced by the late Mr Henry Bradshaw[1].

The following are the results of his inquiry:

(1) It was an elementary book for children, containing the Alphabet and the Lord's Prayer, with other elementary religious matters necessary for a child to know.

(2) It was published by public authority and was subject to modification from time to time, according to the temper of the times, just precisely as the Prayer-Book was.

Four early editions of the A B C are at present known and there are traces of four others, ranging from about 1538 to about 1640.

Mr Bradshaw's conclusion is:

'Thus the A B C takes its place as a book of elementary religious instruction by the side of the Bible and Prayer books and other Church books issued by Authority.'

The A B C served a double purpose—the prayers contained in it were a small compendium of religious instruction, introductory to the Primer, and a reading book as well. As Mr Shuckburgh[2] says: 'They were to be the first books placed in the hands of the child and to contain all that was necessary for him to know, to enable him to understand the rudiments of the Christian Religion and to join in the services of the Church and even to serve at Mass, or, as it is called "to help a Priest to sing."' Changing the nature of its contents with the Reformation, though the purposes of the A B C remained the same, the Alphabet was particularly associated with the Primer, though issued separately until the time of Charles Hoole, who says in his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*[3]:

[1] *Collected Papers*, p. 333 et seqq. Mr W. H. Allnutt gives a list of 16 verified editions of the A B C between 1538–1591.

[2] Introduction to Reprint of A B C (1889).

[3] Published in 1660, though much of it was written many years earlier.

'The ordinary way to teach children to read is, after they have got some knowledge of their letters and a smattering of some syllables and words in the horn-book, to turn them into the A B C or Primer, and therein to make them have the letters and spell the words, till by often use they can pronounce (at least) the shortest words at the first sight.'

The history of the publishing of the A B C is, however, not only to be found joined with the Primer. The first mention of the licensing of the A B C is in 1557–8, when was licensed to John Waly: *An abc for children in englysshe with syllables*[1]. A Latin A B C was licensed to John Tysdale in 1558–9, and an English A B C in the same year to Richard Lant[2]. In this same year 1558–9, John Tysdale was fined for printing an edition without licence[3]. In 1561–2 Thomas Purfoot took out a licence to print an *A B C for chyldren*[4].

In 1553 John Daye obtained a licence to print the Catechism in English 'with a brief of the A B C thereunto annexed.' This was confirmed to John Daye and his son Richard in 1577[5]. In 1582 Roger Warde was proceeded against in the Star-chamber for infringing the Patent and confessed that he had printed off 10,000 copies[6]. In 1585 another case was brought into the Star-chamber against Thomas Dunne and Robert Robinson for printing 'Tenn Thousand of the bookes called the A B C with the lyttel Catechisme in Englishe[7].' From John Daye and Richard Daye, the Patent for printing the A B C passed in 1591 to Verney Alley. By Alley's administrators it was assigned with other books in trust for the Company of Stationers. This assignment was eventually confirmed by King James I, March 8th, 1616[8]. In 1620, the Company of Stationers had in their

[1] Arber, *Transcripts of Registers of Stationers' Company*, I. p. 75.
[2] *Ibid.* I. pp. 95, 96.
[3] *Ibid.* I. 100.
[4] *Ibid.* I. 182.
[5] *Ibid.* II. p. 753.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.* II. 790.
[8] *Ibid.* III. 679. The Spelling A B C was licensed in 1590.

hands the monopoly of the A B C with the Catechism, the Horn A B C, the *Spelling A B C*[1], the *English Schoolmaster* and Primers.

The A B C, then, is associated with the Primer by Injunction, but also by its publication from 1553 onwards with the Catechism[2]. Editions of the A B C were issued by the Company of Stationers at various dates until, as Mr Allnutt says, 1777. These have the short catechism printed with them.

The following edition is in the British Museum Library:

The A B C with the Catechism; That is to say, An Institution to be learned of every Person before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.

London. Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1719. Cum Privilegio (16 pp.), 8vo.; the edition of 1750 is apparently unaltered.

At the back of the title-page is a woodcut of a school in which are both boys and girls. The book contains Letters and Figures from one to three hundred. On the next page the Alphabet and Syllabarium—ab, eb, ib, ob, ub and so on. At end of these, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. The Catechism follows. Then Graces before and after Meat. After one of the graces is the addendum:

> God save his Church, our King and Realm
> And send us Peace in Christ our Lord. Amen.

Lastly the Quatrain:

> This little Catechism learned
> by heart (for so it ought)
> The Primer next commanded
> is for children to be taught[3].

[1] 1590, Nov. 2. An *Alphabet and playne pathewaie to the facultye of Readinge, otherwise called the spellinge A B C*, was licensed in the *Stationers' Register* among several other books licensed to Robert Dexter. Arber, II. p. 566.

[2] Cf. Shakespere, *King John*, I. 196: 'Then comes answer like an Absey (i.e. A B C) book.'

[3] The early editions of Nowell's Short Catechism also contain these lines.

In 1670, the following book appeared:

The primer or catechism, c. 1670 for Company of Stationers, London (alphabet).

Title: The Primer or Catechism set forth agreeable to the Book of Common Prayer authorised by the King's Majesty; to be used throughout his realms and dominions, ...very meet and necessary for the instruction of youth. Cum privilegio.

(Cut of master and scholars within a circle.)

So in 1758—a similar production for Society of Stationers and further editions 1764, 66, 69, 72, 75, 77, 83.

For Wales, in 1546 was published in London *Yny lhyvyr hwnn y traethir* which contains a church calendar and directions for husbandry beginning with the Alphabet[1].

In Ireland, Mr Bradshaw states that: 'The first book published in Ireland in the Irish language was the Alphabet with the Church Catechism and Articles, in 1571.'

In Scotland, instead of the Church Catechism, the General Assembly's Shorter Catechism was preceded by the A B C.

The A B C with the shorter Catechism Appointed by the General Assembly To be a Directory for Catechising of such as are of a weaker Capacity. Edinburgh: James Watson. 1714 (24 pp.).

On the back of the title-page are the Alphabet and Syllabarium ab, eb, ib, ob, ub, as far as at, et, it, ot, ut. The Shorter Catechism. The Ten Commandments. The Lord's Prayer. The Creed. How to know the Names of Numbers both by Letters and Figures, from One to a Thousand, etc.

We have seen already how Roger Warde in 1582, and Dunne and Robinson in 1585, risked proceedings in the Star-chamber, by trespassing on Daye's Patent for printing the A B C. The extent of circulation of the A B C must have been very considerable, when contraband copies to the number

[1] This has been edited with an Introduction by Mr J. H. Davies, Registrar of University College, Aberystwyth.

of 10,000 were put upon the market. What is especially remarkable is that not a single copy of these large out-puts of the press is available to-day. The Registers of the Stationers' Company make us acquainted with the names of books of which no copies whatever can be found. Where a book was the Patent of a monopolist, there was no need to register the book each time it was issued. It was protected for a number of years, or for the life of the patentee, or of himself, his wife, or son, and so on. Accordingly in a book like the A B C it is not practicable to ascertain how many copies were printed, though there are indications that the Patentee's rights were invaded, and hard to maintain, even in the days of monopolies.

For instance, in 1631 proceedings were ordered against Roger Daniel 'concerning printing the A B C.'

In the same way that the publisher was often in possession of his monopoly, the bookseller wished to secure protection in his trade against unauthorised booksellers taking their profits from them[1]. Amongst the books they found particularly difficult to keep in their own hands were the A B C books. It is clear they were a valuable property, and it may be inferred that the circulation was large.

The A B C is apparently an earlier term than 'the alphabet.' In the *Oxford Dictionary* the first use of the A B C for the alphabet is quoted from Robert of Gloucester: 'He was more

[1] In 1637 was passed a decree by the Court of Star-chamber, in which was the following (Article X):

Item, that no Haberdasher of small wares, Ironmonger, chandler, shopkeeper, or any other person or persons whatsoever, not having been seven years apprentice to the trade of a Bookseller, Printer or Book binder, shall within the city or suburbs of London, or in any other Corporation, Market Town, or elsewhere receive, take or buy, to barter, sell again, change or do away any Bibles, Testaments, Psalm-books, Primers, Abcees, Almanacs, or other book or books whatsoever upon pain of forfeiture of all such books....

Arber, *Transcript of Stationers' Registers*, IV. p. 531, and Tuer, p. 377.

þan ten zer old ar he coupe ys abece.' The word alphabet seems to have been introduced as Greek became more common. Cotgrave[1] (1611) says: 'Touching the French abece, for alphabet I will not call it according to the vulgar error, that word being peculiar to the Greek tongue.' The 'abecedarian' was a term denoting the elementary teacher. Wood (1691), in describing Thomas Farnaby, says, 'his distresses made him stoop so low as to be an abcdarian and several were taught their horn-books by him.'

The *Alphabetum Graecum* was emphatically 'the alphabet' in the 16th century. A number of various forms are to be found in the British Museum Library. It is to be noted that these Alphabeta contain elementary instruction in the language and serve also as the first reading book.

For example, the *Alphabetum Graecum*[2] (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1553) contains:

The letters, diphthongs, and other conjunctions of letters. A short treatise follows, De veris Graecarum Literarum apud antiquos formis, et causis, ex Jano Lascare.

Then follow numerals in Greek.

Then, in Greek and Latin, Lord's Prayer, Salutation, Creed, Ten Commandments, Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, Song of Zachariah, the Magnificat, the Beatitudes, Grace before and after meat.

The Hebrew Alphabet was also a school-book, and it is to be mentioned that it contains both Greek and Hebrew, in the same way that the *Alphabetum Graecum* contains Greek and Latin.

At Saffron Walden in 1423 the Grammar School master established his sole right to teach Grammar, whilst Chantry Priests were permitted limited freedom to teach the Alphabet[3].

[1] *Oxford Dictionary* under 'alphabet.'

[2] In Nowell's *Catechismus parvus pueris primum qui ediscatur, proponendus in Scholis Latinè et Graecè*, 1574 etc., the first page and three other pages of the *Alphabetum Graecum* are reproduced.

[3] *See* A. F. Leach: *Warwick School*, p. 77.

In 1524, Manchester Grammar School was founded, and the Statutes mention the provision that was to be made for A B C pupils, viz.:

'The High Master, for the time being, shall always appoint one of his Scholars, as he thinketh best, to instruct and teach in the one end of the school, all infants that shall come there, to learn their A B C, Primer, and every month to choose another new scholar so to teach infants[1].'

The Deed constituting the Free School at Childrey (Berks) required the Chantry Priest who was Grammar Master also to teach the children the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, Salutation, Creed, etc., and the Graces for dinner and supper.

In the proposed Free Song School at Exeter at the time of the Reformation, 40 children were to be admitted and were to be taught besides music, reading and writing 'their A B C in Greek and Hebrew.'

In 1583, the Statutes of St Bees' Grammar School require the A B C (in English) to be taught. Ordinarily, however, the A B C is too obvious a subject to receive specific mention.

The Horn-Book A B C, i.e. The Vernacular A B C[2].

The 'A B C' seems to have been a book for the Grammar School rather than the Elementary School in our sense of the term. Before the dissolution of the Chantries, which often combined the function of Grammar Schools and Elementary Schools, the A B C's are Latin, Greek, Hebrew, not English—i.e. they were the most elementary books of instruction in these subjects, preparatory to the Latin or other accidence and grammar, giving exercise in reading short and easy portions of Church Services in the classical languages, on the sound

[1] Thus it may be noted the Pupil Teacher System was in the Grammar School at any rate early in the 16th century.

[2] Mr A. W. Tuer's *History of the Horn-Book*, 1897, must be referred to for a comprehensive detailed history of this subject.

principle of providing elementary reading in the language to be taught, of material already familiar to the child. How then was preliminary instruction given in the vernacular language? The answer appears to be that in the Mediaeval schools there was no systematic instruction, but that the attempt was made to teach bi-lingually, English being picked up with the more serious business of learning to read Latin.

The fact is that we must go to a more elementary text-book than what was called the 'A B C.' There were more elementary forms of the A B C than those already described.

There were then two tendencies in the A B C (which is to be regarded as an elementary reading book)—one to grow larger; the other to grow smaller. As it grew larger it became a 'Primer,' in the wider sense of the term; in its smaller form it tended to become simply an alphabet, or in other words an A B C book of a few pages or even one page. The simplest form of the A B C was the alphabetical card or tablet. This was the origin of the Horn-book, which at any rate in England seems to have been the term applied to the presentation in any shape of the alphabet alone, or with any other simple additions, to be mentioned presently. 'The earliest horn-books or tablets, in some the letters were incised, had nothing but the alphabet,' says Mr Tuer. Much difficulty is presented in tracing the history of the Horn-book, owing to the fact that the term 'Horn-book' came to be applied to any elementary text-book, which either brought in the alphabet or adopted alphabetical arrangement. Thus a Primer was called a Horn-book. The Horn-book proper (i.e. the wooden tablet with a handle having on the wood a written or printed sheet containing the alphabet, and covered by a sheet of transparent horn fastened to the tablet) was, says Tuer, characteristic of the English-speaking peoples, though the Dutch printers manufactured Horn-books for the English market, and kept the trade largely in their own hands. The use of alphabetical cards or tablets, however, was so simple a device, as to be likely to have had its origin in antiquity, and

have continued its vogue continuously in various forms, in different countries. Mr G. F. Barwick[1], for instance, says, in a passage, which shows that alphabets were important enough to become a matter of dispute, 'In 1604 in Spain, sellers of children's "alphabet cards," were required to sell only at the fixed prices. They had been asking three to four times the fixed price to the great injury of those parents "whose children break many of them."'

Tuer finds his earliest example of a Horn-book as distinguished from an alphabetical tablet in 1450. He is of opinion that probably it was invented at an earlier period but not generally used until the close of the 16th century. In the course of time, in England, the Horn-book trade became sufficiently important to be worth getting a Patent for it. Accordingly the entry in the *Stationers' Register* (Arber, II. p. 477) is interesting:

'1587, Nov. 6. John Wolfe. Allowed unto him for his copy the horn A B C.'

In 1605, Alice Wolfe, probably the widow of John Wolfe, was granted three pounds a year during her lifetime for relinquishing her claim to the A B C Horn-book. The monopoly thus passed into the hands of the Stationers' Company. It is to be found in their List of School-books of 1620, along with the A B C with the Catechism, and with the Spelling A B C. The monopoly, however, was one difficult to protect, as another entry in the *Stationers' Register* illustrates. In 1655, information being received 'that letters were cast to print the horn-book, Mr Warden Foster was desired to commence a suit for the irregular printing.'

The scarcity of examples of the genuine old Horn-books is not to be taken as an indication of their slight importance as school text-books. The 'multiplication of utility' (to use Professor Stanley Jevons' phrase in another connexion), in the class-room, whereby one Horn-book could, at a pinch, serve a

[1] *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, IV. p. 49.

whole class made them indispensable, and eventually led to the device of further cheapening them. Mr Tuer relates how schoolmasters used to tear the alphabet from a penny catechism and stick it on a piece of board, whittled down to a handle at one end.

The form of 'the Horn-book,' thus cheapened down to its barest necessity—even to the substitution of paste-board, in place of wood—was in common use in England from 1450 onwards. A correspondent of Mr Tuer from his own recollection mentions the use of the battledores (a variant of the Horn-book) in the Welsh Sunday Schools. Local printers made such things themselves. The wood was shaped by a neighbouring carpenter and the printer provided the alphabet from the coloured penny toy-book of the period and stuck it on. The battledore was originally of the form of the battledore as used in the game of battledore and shuttlecock, though later the term was used of two sheets of stiff paper or cardboard so arranged as to present a whole sheet in the middle and two half-sheets to fold over the middle one. The whole of the middle sheet and of the inner sides of the folded half-sheets were thus available for the alphabet, syllables, Lord's Prayer, etc.[1]

As to the teaching of the alphabet in the 17th century, there were various devices. Perhaps the best statement of teaching methods is to be found in the Epistolary Discourse before the New Testament, edited by Eilhardus Lubinus. The Discourse was translated into English in *the True and Readie Way to Learn the Latin Tongue*, a small volume edited by Samuel Hartlib in 1654.

[1] The writer's mother remembers such a battledore used in the country school to which she went as a child.

CHAPTER X.

THE TEACHING OF READING.

It was the introduction of new schemes of theological thought, which brought about the necessity of reading as a general accomplishment. For the Protestant Reformation introduced two new principles—of vital import in the history of reading as a school subject. Firstly, it substituted the authority of the Bible for the old authority of Aristotle, and this required close knowledge of the contents, which could only be obtained by reading. Secondly, the Protestant view impressed the sense of personal responsibility in the formation of one's own views. Hence immediately followed the necessity of each person reading the Bible himself and for himself. Universal opportunity of learning to read was an immediate practical inference. It is the application of this logic of facts in the new situation brought about by the Protestant Revolt against the old Authority of the Church and Scholasticism, which constitutes the educational merit of Luther, and establishes him as the prophet of democratical elementary education, which includes reading as the birthright of all.

This way of stating the matter does not imply that no reading was taught in the Middle Ages. There were some schools specifically named Reading Schools (see p. 137). But it suggests that both educational aims and methods were different with regard to reading. Thus, in the services of the Church, no doubt, the priests ordinarily could read the services,

and the laymen, with well-trained memories, could follow them, and by careful discipline, could enter into even new developments, as they were introduced into the various Uses. No doubt the boys learned their Primer by heart, and again, in many cases, they had a certain amount of reading skill, in the later Mediaeval time, acquired by learning the alphabet. But in matter of more or less general knowledge, e.g. legends of the saints, Bible-stories, and the psalms, although these were undoubtedly read in the later Mediaeval Grammar Schools, for the most part, in the later part of the Middle Ages, amongst the people at large, any knowledge they possessed was due to the graphic methods of presentation through ceremonials, pictures, frescoes, paintings, mosaics, etc., together with the word-pictures from sermons. In the general community knowledge certainly was not and could not be the outcome of private reading.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether there were any systematic books for the teaching of reading, other than a crude form of the Horn-book, till the time of the Renascence.

Mr Shuckburgh described the 1538 A B C book as the earliest extant English 'Reading book.' The whole series of A B C books are rightly thus described. The method, however, of teaching to read had not been treated in any systematic way till Mulcaster's *Elementarie* appeared in 1582. Mulcaster has definite ideas as to the books to be read in schools. He says, in the *Elementarie*:

'Wherefore to lay the first ground of learning, which is to learn to read, in religion towards God, in religion itself to observe the law and ordinances of my country, I will after the Abc, set down the ordinary catechism set forth by my prince, and the state of my country, with all such appendants for graces, and other prayers, as shall seem most pertinent to the Elementarie training of a Christian child: Thereunto I will join some other pretty short treatise concerning the same religious argument. Then will I set down some other well

picked discourse, which shall concern moral behaviour, and right opinions that way. In all which I will have both a special and a continual regard to these four points in the child, his memory, his delight, his capacity, and his forwarding.'

In the *Positions* written a year before the *Elementarie* (viz. in 1581) Mulcaster states clearly his views on reading. 'Whether you mark the nature of the thing, while it is in getting, or the goodness thereof when it is gotten it must needs be the first principle, in training of the mind.' It is interesting to note, however, that in reading, Mulcaster wishes the child to be 'perfect and ready' in reading *both the English and the Latin language*, 'before he dream of his grammar.' He concedes that formerly it was a matter of reasonable doubt whether the pupil should learn to read Latin or English first. 'Whilst our religion was restrained to the Latin it was the onely principle to learn to read Latin.'

'But now that we are returned home to our English A B C as most natural to our soul and most proper to our faith, we are directed by nature to read that first which we speak first and to care for that most which we ever use most.'

Mulcaster gives his reasons for thus learning first to read English rather than Latin:

'We need it most. And (we ought) to begin our first learning there, where we have most helps to learn it best, by familiarity of our ordinary language, by understanding all usual arguments, by continual company of our own countrymen all about us speaking English and none uttering any words but those which we ourselves are well acquainted with both in our learning and living.'

We have only to compare the books for teaching Latin in this period with the books for teaching English, such for example as Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, to see how much more gathered experience and pains went to the former in comparison with the latter. Elementary teaching was a make-

shift occupation all through the 17th as well as the 16th century. 'How many small infants,' said Mulcaster, 'have we set to grammar which can scarcely read? How many to learn Latin, which never wrote letter?'

Nearly 80 years later, Hoole writes 'The want of good teachers of English in most places where grammar schools are erected causeth that many children are brought thither to learn the Latin tongue before they can read well.' Even where children had been taught to read English, Brinsley says after they had learned Latin a short time, they forgot how to read English. Again in the 16th and 17th centuries, parents were as much inclined as now in the 20th to 'over-haste,' as Mulcaster calls it, in their children's schooling. Mulcaster, Brinsley, and Hoole all complain of the hurry and inadequacy of the elementary course. It is not a case, Mulcaster says, of a number of years; the test is that of the 'sufficiency' of the work done. He tells us his opinion:

'When the child can read so readily and roundly as the length of his lesson shall nothing trouble him for his reading; when he can write so fair and fast, as no kind of exercise shall be tedious unto him for the writing; when his pen or pencil shall delight him with brag; when his music both for voice and hand is so far forward as a little voluntary will both maintain and increase it: all which things the second master must have an eye unto: then hath the elementarie had time enough.'

For the purpose of supplying masters fully equipped for teaching, both in grammar and elementary subjects, Mulcaster proposed a training college for teachers, with due equipment of 'readers' of high qualifications. If this project 'were put in execution,' he thinks, 'the world should see, a marvellous number of excellent professors *in every degree*' (of teaching). Mulcaster's scheme contemplated coordination of grades of schools, thoroughness in each; capable teachers in all. Only the thoroughly fit pupil was to proceed to higher stages, and on the other hand, even those whose school training ended with

'the elementarie,' were to receive a thorough and liberal education, within the limits laid down.

What the ordinary Petty School of the early part of the 17th century taught may perhaps be estimated by a reference to one of the text-books for such Petty Schools, recommended by both Brinsley and Hoole, viz.: 'Coote's English Schoolmaster, Teaching all his Scholars, of what age soever, the most easie, short, and perfect order of distinct Reading and true Writing our English tongue, that hath ever yet been known or published by any. And further also teacheth a direct Course, how any unskilfull person may easily both understand any hard English words, which they shall in Scriptures, Sermons, or elsewhere hear or read; and also be made to use the same aptly themselves; and generally whatsoever is necessary to be known for the English Speech, by *Edward*[1] *Coote*, Master of the Free School in St. Edmonds Bury. Perused and approved by publick Authority, and now the 26 time[2] imprinted with certain copies to write by, at the end of this Book added' (1656). The price of the book was one shilling. Nearly 32 pages are given to the Alphabet and Spelling, about 18 pages to a Short Catechism, 'necessary observations of a Christian,' prayers and psalms, 5 pages to chronology, 2 to writing copies, 2 to Arithmetic, and the rest of the book gives a list of hard words alphabetically arranged and sensibly explained. The whole book in the edition of 1656, consists of 79 pages.

It was entered in *Stationers' Register* 18 Dec. 1596 to Jackson and Dexter, under the title of

The Englishe Scholemaister, teaching all his schollars of what age so ever the most easie, short and perfect order of distinct readinge and true writinge our English tonge[3].

In a list of School Books belonging to the Stationers'

[1] This should be 'Edmund.' *See D. N. B.* (Thompson Cooper).

[2] In *D. N. B.* an edition is mentioned as printed at Dublin in 1673, which is named as the forty-second.

[3] *See* Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, 3rd series, p. 47.

Company dated March 5, 1620, we find the *English Schoolmaster* had come into their possession.

It will be noticed that the 32 pages of A B C and Spelling were the longest section of the book. The spelling begins with words of two letters, a consonant and a vowel: ab, eb, ib, ob, ub.

Then follow the diphthongs, and further complications of letters joined together both at the beginning and at the end of words. Practice in reading is given with such examples as the following:

Ba, bab, babl. Ga, gad, gadl, wrabl, scrabl.

Pa peb, babl. Bi bib bibl nibl, dri drill, scri scribl etc.

Then follow rules for dividing words into syllables, how to tell how many syllables there are in a word, the plurals of words. These are succeeded by 'all observations necessary for the perfection of a scholar,' and a final chapter on 'an order how the teacher shall direct his scholars to appose one another.'

It is difficult to see how the book could be anything but dull and uninteresting in the highest degree. Probably, however, the system of 'apposing' and answering gave a variety in teaching which does not appear on reading the book now; and to the teacher, the mechanical repetition from lesson to lesson of unmeaning sounds arranged monotonously like 'Ga, gad, gadl, wrabl, scrabl' became easy in time, and 'he need never hinder his work while he heard the scholars.'

It is true that Coote borrows an idea from rhetoric and this constitutes the best part of his book:

'Touching the *framing and sweet tuning of the voice* I have added for help, for prose all sort of style both dialogue and other and for verse, Psalms and other verses of all the other sorts usual which being well taught will frame them to the natural reading of any English.'

Even earlier than Coote, viz. in 1590, Thomas Johnson

had written: *The Pathway to Reading, or the newest Spelling A B C*[1]. This possibly is the Spelling A B C, in the list of School Books owned by the Stationers' Company in 1620[2]—but no notice of its contents is forthcoming, though it probably had a wide circulation, if it was the Stationers' Company's book. In 1610 was published *A New Book of Spelling with Syllables*. Mr Hazlitt[3] describes this book as 'a series of alphabets, alphabetical arrangements of syllables, and remarks on vowels and diphthongs....The writer then presents his readers with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Dialogue, etc. as orthographical theses.'

John Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612), gives directions to the Schoolmaster to teach the alphabet and spelling. His methods are wiser than Coote's though he unfortunately provided no text-book. In alphabet teaching he points out the desirability of not only learning the A B C by rote, forwards and backwards, but practice in requiring the child to show which is a, b, c, f, etc., and any other letter, first in the alphabet and then 'in any other place.' He thinks too, that one letter should be learned at a time, whereas the custom appears to have been to learn the whole alphabet first. In teaching to spell, Brinsley suggests the learning of many words together which differ by but one letter, thus hand, band, land, sand. He makes a table of difficult words to spell to be specially learned. He considers that children should be taught the signs of the letters. Then if they *understand* '*the matter*' of what they are going to read 'they will get on in reading as fast as you will desire.'

Brinsley did not limit the teaching of reading to a single book. Though he thought well of Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, he did not suppose that any one book could effect all the wonders in the acquisition of learning that Coote was so

[1] Mentioned by W. C. Hazlitt, *Schools, School Books and Schoolmasters*, p. 212.

[2] *See* p. 165 above.

[3] Hazlitt, p. 213.

sanguine he could achieve. Brinsley desires the elementary pupil to go through a course of reading in:

1. The Alphabet.
2. The A B C, including Spelling (here Brinsley thought Coote's book useful).
3. The Primer (to be read twice through).
4. The Psalms in metre.
5. The (New) Testament.
6. The School of Virtue and the School of Good Manners[1].

The above, he calculates, should take a year—and so by entering at five years of age, by the age of six, children should be ready to enter on the serious business of the school, viz. the Accidence, i.e. Latin Accidence.

Parenthetically, however, it should be observed that Brinsley had to deal with parents who thought it a crying evil that children, thus early beginning their Latin, did not go forward with their English reading also. Parents, to use his phrase, 'will be at me' that their children should every day read some chapter of the Bible in English. 'Now this I cannot possibly do, but they must needs be hindered in their Latin. Others, being more ignorant or malicious, upon every light occasion are ready to rage and rail at me, for that their children, as they say, do get no good under me, but are worse and worse. For whereas they could have read English perfectly (it may be) when they came to me, now they have forgotten how to do it.' Brinsley's remedy is to construe Lily's Rules from the Latin, daily to write epistles and familiar letters to their friends in English, reporting of a fable in English, some use of the history of the Bible, and the taking of notes of sermons and reconstructing the notes into a whole.

[1] *The Schoole of Vertue and Booke of Good Nurture for chyldren and youth to learne theyr dutie by*, by Francis Seager. Earliest edition that by W. Seres, 1557; there is one as late as 1677. *See* p. 101 above.

The purpose of reading in the mind of Mulcaster had been transfigured by the thought that it was the 'first principle' which led eventually to the enchanted ground of classical scholarship. But in the 17th century the classics themselves suffered eclipse, except to the relatively small body of scholars. The Protestant religion, after a life and death struggle, had triumphed. The Bible was the religion of Protestants. For the Puritans of the stricter kind, the Bible embodied the whole of revealed truth; it sufficed for this life and for the life after death. All other learning was as 'dross.' The Pilgrim Fathers took the biblical culture with them to New England. But the spirit which animated them was part of the common consciousness of the country from which they went, and their simple, austere hope of a theocracy across the waters, was no less the hope of those who stayed behind. Rather it was intensified in England by their example. Family life implied family worship, and Bible-reading. Much went on in the homes, both in the way of teaching children to read the Bible, and in giving them practice in the reading, if they learned the elements of reading in the schools. The following is a picture of learning to read at home. It is taken from Adam Martindale's Autobiography[1]:

'When I was near six years old, one Anne Simpkin, who was one of my sureties at the font, being grown low in the world, but not in goodness, out of a real principle of conscience to perform her promises and engagements for me at my baptism (as I verily believe), bestowed an A B C upon me; a gift in itself exceeding small and contemptible, but, in respect of the design and event, worth more than its weight in gold. For till that time I was all for childish play, and never thought of learning. But then I was frequently importunate with my mother that had laid it up (thinking I would only pull it in pieces) to give it into mine own hands, which, being so small a trifle, she accordingly did; and I, by the help of my brethren and sisters that could read, and a young man that came to

[1] Published by the Chetham Society. Martindale was born in 1623.

court my sister, had quickly learned it and the primer also after it. Then of mine own accord I fell to reading the Bible and any other English book, and such great delight I took in it, and the praises I got by it from my parents, which preferred my reading before any other in the family, that I think I could almost have read a day together without play or meat, if breath and strength would have held out; and thus it continued to the end of the first seven years of my life.'

The schools, especially the Elementary Schools, had to meet the demand for teaching children to read the Bible. The text-books in reading were deliberately framed for the purpose of bringing the pupil to ability in reading the Bible, hard passages as well as easy[1].

The artificiality and precocity involved in these reading books and the didactic nature of the contents were defects which could not be overlooked when the doctrine of relating school-work to the child's capacity and nature, became the educational theory of Charles Hoole. Logically, a new type of 'primer' was necessary. This he prepared, after a manner, as he hoped, calculated to arouse a natural interest in the subject-matter. He thus describes his New Primer:

'In the first leaf whereof I have set the Roman capitals... and have joined therewith the pictures or images of some things whose names begin with that letter, by which a child's memory may be helped to remember how to call his letters, as A for an ape, B for a bear, etc.'

Hoole is writing in 1660 and gives the following account of the teaching of reading:

'The ordinary way to teach children to read is, after they have got some knowledge of their letters, and a smattering of some syllables and words in the hornbook, to turn them into the A B C or Primer, and therein to make them name the letters and spell the words, till by often use they can pronounce (at least) the shortest words at the first sight.'

[1] *See* Note A at end of Chapter.

He notes, however, 'the A B C being now (I may say) generally thrown aside, and the ordinary Primer not printed, and the very fundamentals of Christian religion (which were wont to be contained in those books, and were commonly taught children at home by heart before they went to school) with sundry people (almost in all places) slighted, the matter which is taught in most books now in use is not so familiar to them, and therefore not so easy for children to learn.'

Hoole, accordingly, included in his Primer the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. For practice in early reading he recommends *The Single Psalter*, the *Psalms in Metre* and *The School of Good Manners*. When children can read well, they should be encouraged to continue reading English and not begin the Latin Accidence too early.

Probably the best theory of teaching reading and spelling in the period is contained in a book by Richard Lloyd:

The Schoole-masters Auxiliaries, to remove the Barbarians Siege from Athens; Advanced under two Guides. The first, leading by Rule and Reason to read and write English dexterously. The second, asserting the Latin Tongue in Prose and Verse, to its just Inlargement, Splendor, and Elegancy. London, for the Author. 1654. 12°.

Reading requires a right method, and Lloyd takes great pains, and shows much ingenuity in his method of teaching first the *figures* of the letters. He gives descriptions, as 'b' is the new Moon stuck at the bottom of a stake and 'd' the old Moon similarly placed. He then shows the *powers* of the letters. This he bases on a phonetic system and bewails the ineffectiveness of the English Alphabet to express the sounds. He observes 'it were an easy matter by coining a new figure for every letter to make their shape as well as sound suitable to their names. But such hieroglyphics would conduce rather to enthral than to enlarge knowledge. As things were children might learn their letters with their sports, by dice or cards.' Yet he would have some changes made in the English

Alphabet. He follows a phonetic method so as to help the pupils to read and spell.

After which he says:

'Thus a just account is given of every letter in the right sound thereof; and when the same is silent, or doth vary from the proper sound, which the vulgar Alphabet cannot perform, wanting convenient principles, whence the common people versed onely thereunto ever failed in Orthography; for when they write their own affairs, after much racking of their wits, it were easier to uncipher characters, than to read their riddles.'

Lloyd insists on short lessons in reading, and slow and sure progress.

Note A.

Typical Reading and Spelling Books intended for the purpose of Teaching the Reading of the Bible.

The English Primrose: Far surpassing al others of this kinde, that ever grew in any English garden: by the ful sight whereof, there will manifestly appear The Easiest and Speediest-way, both for the true spelling and reading of English, as also for the True-writing thereof: that ever was publickly known to this day. Planted (with no smal pains) by Richard Hodges, a Schoolmaster, dwelling in Southwark, at the middle-gate within Montague-close: for the exceeding great benefit, both of his own Countreymen and Strangers. Approved also by the Learned, and publisht by Authority.

If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battel? 1 Cor. 14. 8.

London, Printed for Richard Cotes, 1644.

Learning's Foundation firmly laid, in a Short Method of Teaching to Read English. More exact and easie than ever was yet published by any: Comprehending All things necessary for the perfect and speedy attaining of the same. Whereby anyone of discretion may be brought to read the Bible truly in the space of a month though he never knew letter before. The truth whereof hath been confirmed by manifold experience. By George Robertson, Schoolmaster, between the two North-Doors of Paul's in the new Buildings. London, Printed by Thomas Maxey, 1651.

The Plainest Directions for the True-Writing of English, That ever was hitherto publisht: Especially of such words whose sounds are altogether Alike, and their signification altogether Unlike: And of such whose sounds are so near Alike, that they are oftentimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added divers useful Tables. Invented by Richard Hodges a wel-wisher to Learning. London: Printed by William Du-gard for Thomas Euster at the Gun in Ivie Lane. 1649.

The English School: containing a catalogue of all the Words in the Bible, beginning with one syllable, and proceeding by degrees to seven, divided and not divided: together with a brief and compleat Table of the most usual and common English Words. Being the readiest way for teaching Children, and Elder Persons, to spell, pronounce, read and write true English: and to distinguish of the sense and spelling of many words of a like sound. With the first Principles of the Oracles of God, and Scriptures at large to prove each Principle. Also, Forms of Prayers, Praises, Thanksgivings and Graces, with Directions for Health and long Life, suited to the Necessities and Capacities of Children and youth. Fitted to the Common Use of English Schools, being the first that ever came forth in this Method. (The fifth Edition, much enlarged and corrected, with the Addition of new Cuts and Copies to teach to write several sorts of Hands.)

By Tobias Ellis, Minister of the Gospel. London, 1680.

Note B.

Christ's Hospital School and Reading.

The introduction of a Writing School within a Grammar School seems to have been a hindrance to the reading. One of the earliest schools to include a Writing School was Christ's Hospital. A minute of the Court of the Hospital, 1632, thus describes the state of the reading:

Whereas it hath been used of ancient custom that the children have been removed out of the Petty School into the Writing School to the intent that they might be the sooner fitted to be put forth apprentices, it hath been found that in the time of their learning to write they have quite lost their reading for want of exercise. It is therefore thought fit and is ordered by this court that from henceforth the said children shall be removed out of the Petty School into the Grammar School for their better perfection in Reading. And that the said children at the hour of four in the afternoon shall go from thence to the Writing School to practise their writing there after their exercises done in the Grammar School aforesaid.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TEACHING OF WRITING.

Roger Ascham marks the transition from mainly oral method in the teaching of Latin to the general introduction of the written method of later times. Ascham was a calligrapher of the highest order of his age, and his penmanship stood him in good stead in his career. It is not surprising that in his *Scholemaster* (1570) he is an advocate of the written exercise. For the sake of ready speaking, writing is to be much practised. He says that by written exercises more progress will be made than by the *common teaching of the common schools in England.* By inference we must conclude that, from Ascham's testimony, written work had not ordinarily played any considerable part in school practice.

To remedy this defect, Ascham requires the pupil to use three paper-books[1]. The first paper-book is to contain his written translations from the Latin. The second is to be used for written re-translation of his English back (after an interval) into Latin. The third is to be a record in writing of his observations of the usage of classical writers in the idioms which the pupil is likely to want for his own Latin composition.

[1] Four years earlier (i.e. in 1566) Bp Pilkington included in his Statutes for Rivington Grammar School, the provision:

'That they may the better [write in paper-books], the Master and Usher shall appoint them that cannot write, every day, one hour to learn to fashion their letters in, until they can do it something seemly.' *See* note to p. 263.

This change of the direction of school work from the oral to the written method is a necessary consequence, as already pointed out, of the vast multiplication of printed books, which had taken place in the preceding hundred years and more since their introduction. Ascham is merely the spokesman of his age, not an educational reformer in advance of it. Thus, the necessity of writing for Grammar School work was recognised in the Statutes drawn up by Sir Nicholas Bacon for St Albans Grammar School in the very year of the appearance of the *Scholemaster* (1570):

'None shall be received into the school but such as have learned their Accedence without book and can write indifferently.'

In 1571, at Burford Grammar School, Oxfordshire, the Statutes declare:

'That the Master and Usher teach Grammar, reading and writing to the boys of the town.'

At Giggleswick (Yorkshire)[1] the Statutes in 1592 (though they are probably based on former practice, the School having been founded in 1553) require that three weeks (vacation) 'be appointed by Master for his scholars to be exercised in writing under a Scrivener.'

In the year 1570 or 1571, appeared apparently the first English-published treatise on writing, prepared by a Frenchman who taught writing in London:

De Beau Chesne (John) and Baildon (John)[2]. *A booke containing divers sortes of hands as well the English as French secretarie with the Italian, Roman, Chancelry and Courts hands. ...(Rules (in verse) made by E. B. for his children to learne to write bye.)* I. Vautrollier.

[1] Ascham's own county, in which the Giggleswick method of a peripatetic or local Scrivener for the teaching of writing prevailed, at any rate at a later date (*see* Hoole's account of this 'Country' method, p. 198).

[2] Herbert thinks that this book was written by Beauchesne and that the plates in it were cut in wood by Baildon.

Up to this date, therefore, writing was a traditional art, excepting in so far as it was invigorated and modified by foreign printed manuals[1]. The wider purposes of the new schools tended more and more to bring into prominence the utilitarian aspect of the subject from the point of view of the Grammar School, whilst the general lack of skill in fair writing amongst even teachers brought into relief the dexterity of the professional scrivener, and as time went on, the writing-master who, in the dignity of his specialistic function, entered into a line of continuity with the old monastic illuminators and calligraphers to preserve the subject as more or less a Fine Art, in the magnificence and intricacy of beautiful curves and lines and decorated writing.

Mulcaster treats thus of the subject of writing :

'The whole orthography, which concerneth the right writing of our tongue, will both help the writing master, and ease my labour in that behalf. Howbeit whatsoever shall be needful to that end besides the rules, which are given in the orthography (as there be many pretty notes, for the writers' profession, both to frame the child's hand right, to form and join letters well and to fit these instruments, which he must needs use in the managing thereof) all that I will set forth most plainly, and as shortly, for both the English and the Latin Letter. I join the Latin letter with the English, because the time to learn the Latin tongue is next in order after the Elementarie, and the child's hand is then to be acquainted with the Latin charact, which is nothing so cumbersome as the English charact is, if it be not far more easy.' He tells us that masters 'spend their whole time about setting of copies, whereas fewer copies, and more looking to his hand would help the child more.'

[1] A copy book of 28 leaves from wooden blocks was issued at Rome as early as 1543. Its writer was Ludovico Vicentino, who was followed by Tagliente and Palatino. For an account of writing books of the 16th century in Italy, Spain and France, see *Transactions of Bibliographical Society*, III. 1895, pp. 41–69.

There is an exercise mentioned in Archbp Laud's transcript (1621–8) of the *Consuetudinarium* of Westminster School, which shows that Mulcaster's view of Latin writing as well as English writing was still held to be important. 'At dinner and supper times we read some portion of the Latin in a manuscript (to facilitate the reading of such hands)[1].'

In the Statutes for the King's School, Durham, there is provision made for the teaching of writing, including the writing of Latin and Greek as Mulcaster suggests. The Statutes[2] are undated but the foundation of the School dates from 1541:

'For the better exercising of Greek, Roman and Secretaire hands...weekly, those scholars which write the best shall give examples...to the inferiors and upon Saturday the schoolmaster shall commend every scholar to write presently certain lines in all the foresaid hands. Two judges being chosen, every boy shall deliver in his pen with the paper to the judges. They shall choose out of every form one boy which writeth the best and that scholar shall receive the pens and papers of all his fellows in that form.'

The Statutes of St Bees' Grammar School in 1583 require notice. They transfer the fees paid for teaching writing as a perquisite to the Usher:

'The Usher shall have for his wages yearly five marks, to be paid by the Receiver quarterly, and may take for every one limited to be taught by him 2*d.* a piece at their entrance into the School, besides that which the Master shall have as aforesaid[3]; *He shall also have* 4*d. a piece yearly of every one that he shall teach to write, so long as he taketh pains with them.*'

The salary of the Usher was thus £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* a year (a mark

[1] This is the only example I know of the practice in schools in the Stuart period of deciphering MSS.

[2] As given in the *Victoria History of Durham*, I. p. 378.

[3] The Master was to have 4*d.* from each boy on entrance, as a registration fee.

being 13*s.* 4*d.*). With 40 pupils in writing the usher could increase his salary 20 per cent. The payment for his services in teaching writing thus appears small, on any calculation.

In this connexion, mention should be made of the important item of paper, on which the pupil was to write. Paper was a comparatively recent introduction. The first English manufacturer of paper[1] was a man called Tate at Hertford in the early part of the 16th century. The next known manufactory was that of Spielmann[2] at Dartford in 1588. The paper, therefore, used would often be foreign paper, which would have to pay the cost of carriage. The price of writing paper in the later part of the 16th century was for small folio size just upon 4*d.* a quire[3]. The parents, it is clear, would not encourage a large employment of a commodity which might soon run into many times the yearly fee paid to the Usher for teaching the subject. Hence, there was probably a difficulty in adopting Ascham's suggestion of three paper-books except, indeed, in the case of the private tutor in the houses of the rich. The Orders for St Albans School, 1570, explicitly state in the Articles to be recited to parents:

'Ye shall find your child, ink, paper[4], pens, wax candles for winter and all other things at any time requisite and necessary for the maintenance of his study.'

Further insight into the position of writing can be obtained by considering the following Order to the scholars at St Bees' School of the same date as the Statutes (1583)—an order not calculated to increase the popularity of the subject:

[1] Sir E. M. Thompson in *Encyc. Brit.* under 'Paper.' It is there stated that it was not till the middle of the 14th century that paper is found used for College and Municipal records.

[2] *See* Elze, *Life of Shakespere*, p. 285.

[3] J. E. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices.*

[4] The Bury St Edmunds Statutes (1550) enjoin: 'Ink, parchment, knife, pens, note-books, let all have ready.' There is also the curious provision: 'When they have to write, let them use their knees for a table,' *Vict. Hist. of Suffolk*, II. p. 314. *See* Brinsley's directions (2), p. 194 *infra*.

'Upon Saturdays and Half-holidays in the afternoon, they shall apply their writing by the space of two hours, and the Master and Usher in the meantime shall examine such of their scholars as they think meet in the Catechism, either in English, Latin or Greek, according to their capacities, and as they have learned the same.'

St Bees was not alone in this requirement. The practice was the same at Guildford Grammar School and Durham.

At Houghton[1] the Statutes, 1658 (but the School founded ? 1582), required the Usher to teach writing and other subjects on 'playing days and after supper.' At Heighington[2] (founded 1601), 'upon festival days and other convenient times,' writing accounts was to be taught, and the masters weekly to peruse their writing and cyphering and set them copies. Another method was to take the three weeks of vacation for teaching writing by a scrivener as at Giggleswick.

An indication of the difficulty experienced in getting due attention to writing is to be found in the rewards and prizes offered to the good writers of a school. This was the case, we have seen, at Durham. More strikingly it is provided in the Statutes of Camberwell Grammar School (1615):

'Every scholar shall once every week write as well as he possibly can with all circumstances of true and fair writing, in one two or more hands, this sentence following: "This is Life eternall, that they know the a (*sic*) whome thou hast sent Jesus Christ" in this manner; that is, in the first line the yere of our Lord, the deie of the moneth; In three lines the sentence itself, last of all every ownes (*sic*) name subscribed in secretaire and Romane, which papers or paper bookes shal be safilie received first to be examined quartilie, how every scholler profits in writing; secondlie that all posteritie maie see how much and wherein they excell or come behinde their predecessors.'

[1] *Victoria History of Durham*, I. p. 395.
[2] *Ibid.* I. p. 399.

At the end of the time the forms were to name the twelve boys in the school which write fairest and have profited best in the quarter. Then the master was to write down '8 who have profited best.' Then 'two others, whether ministers, gentlemen or clarks of office that have good stile in fair writing... resolve upon four out of the whole school. Unto him that hath profited most shall be given 12*d.*, unto the second 6*d.*, unto the third 4*d.*, unto the fourth 2*d.*, if any one be pronounced to have profited best the second time he shall receive 15*d.* and so up to 2*s.*, and, not after, but another to succeed[1].' Silver pens for writing were given at some schools, at a later period.

The first Writing School as a department of a Grammar School was in connexion with Christ's Hospital. It is apparently the first instance of the establishment of a Modern Side to a Public School. This Writing School was founded in 1577, by Dame Ramsey. In her will, dated 1596, she left £20 a year 'to maintain in the said hospital a writing school with a master and usher to teach as well poor men's children of the City of London as children of the said hospital to write and cast accounts.'

In 1675–6, Mr William James was Master of the Writing School. 'Being demanded whether he could teach common arithmetic, i.e. the plain rule of three, he made but very slender answer to it and told them if he was deficient in arithmetic he would make it his business for the time to come to inform himself better in it.'

In 1581, there was an Order of the Court of Christ's Hospital: 'That every Sunday two of the best learned children be appointed to pen the sermons at Paul's Cross every Sunday.'

In 1626, Edward Alleyn founded Dulwich College. In all the Grammar teaching the Masters were to use the books usually taught in the Free Grammar Schools of Westminster

[1] *Vict. Hist. of Surrey*, II. p. 211.

and St Paul's. But the subject of writing is placed by Alleyn by the side of Grammar; 'they [i.e. the Masters] shall freely, without recompense or reward, teach and instruct the children of the inhabitants within Dulwich aforesaid in writing and grammar, and I do ordain that the said master or usher of the school be such as be able to teach the poor scholars to write a fair hand, and shall provide and find at their own charge sufficient pens, ink and paper, for all the said twelve poor scholars, both for writing and ciphering books and for the grammarians to make their Latins in.'

In 1629 the Statutes of Chigwell School require that the Second Schoolmaster 'touching his years and conversation, be in all points endowed and qualified as is above expressed touching the Latin Schoolmaster; that he write fair Secretary and Roman Hands; that he be skilful in Cyphering and casting of Accounts, and teach his scholars the same Faculty.'

Dame Ramsey's endowment in Christ's Hospital and the article quoted from the Dulwich Statutes mark the transition to a further development, characteristic of the latter half of the 17th and 18th centuries of the establishment of Departments of Writing in large Grammar Schools, with a specialistic Writing-Master.

But in the earlier part of the 17th century, in the Grammar Schools, writing, if taught at all, seems to have been regarded as an extra and paid for by a special fee. As we have seen, the Grammar Schools often made the condition that a boy should be able to read and write efficiently before entrance.

Writing-Practice.

Brinsley most conveniently provides a whole chapter, viz., Chapter IV of the *Ludus Literarius* (1612), to this subject. How the Master may direct his Scholars to write very fair, '*though himself be no good penman*,' reminding one of Jacotot, who paradoxically held that a teacher can teach that which he does not know. Brinsley's directions are as follows:

'1. The Scholar should be set to write, when he enters into his accidence so every day to spend an hour in writing, or very near.

'2. There must be special care, that every one who is to write, have all necessaries belonging thereunto; as pen, ink, paper, ruler, plummet, ruling-pen, pen-knife, etc.

'3. The like care must be, that their ink be thin, black, clear; which will not run abroad nor blot; their paper good; that is, such as is white, smooth, and which will bear ink, and also that it be made in a book. Their writing books would be kept fair, straight ruled, and each to have a blotting paper to keep their books from soiling, or marring under their hands.

'4. Cause every one of them to make his own pen, otherwise the making and mending of pens will be a very great hindrance, both to the masters and to the scholars. Besides that, when they are away from their masters (if they have not a good pen made before) they will write naught, because they know not how to make their pens themselves.

'The best manner of making the pen is thus:

'1. Choose the quill of the best and strongest of the wing, which is somewhat harder, and will cleave.

'2. Make it clean with the back of the pen-knife.

'3. Cleave it straight up the back; first with a cleft made with your pen-knife, after with another quill put into it, rive it further by little and little, till you see the cleft to be very clean; so you may make your pen of the best of the quill, and where you see the cleft to be the cleanest and without teeth. If it do not cleave without teeth, cleave it with your pen-knife in another place, still nearer the back; for if it be not straight up the back it will very seldom run right. After, make the neb and cleft both about one length, somewhat above a barley-corn breadth, and small, so as it may let down the ink, and write clean. Cut the neb first slant downwards to make it thin, and after straight overthwart. Make both sides of equal bigness, unless you be cunning to cut that side, which lieth

upon the long finger, thinner and shorter; yet so little, as the difference can hardly be discerned. But both of equal length is accounted the surest.

'The speediest and surest way to learn to make the pen is this: When your scholar shall have a good pen fit for his hand, and well-fashioned; then to view and mark that well, and to try to make one in all things like unto it. It were good for the learner to procure such a pen made, and to keep it for a pattern, to make others by, until he be very perfect in it. A child may soon learn to make his pen; yet, few of age do know how to make their own pens well, although they have written long and very much, neither can any attain to write fair without that skill.'

The pen is to be held close to the nib, the thumb and two forefingers almost closed together round the nib 'like unto a cat's foot, as some of the scriveners call it.' The pen must be carried lightly so as to glide on the paper. To save 'that endless toil of setting copies,' a little copy-book is to be fastened to the top of the boy's writing-book with a strong thread, a span long, so that when he writes, the copy-book may lie close before him, and the side of the copy may be placed almost to touch the line he is writing so that his eye may be upon the copy and his letter together. The copies thus will not get lost nor the scholar write without them. The writing-book should be quarto size. The copy-book should not be more than two inches in breadth, and is to contain four or six copies in a book, half Secretary, half Roman. One line of the copy should contain small letters, and under that 'great' letters; and under both, a line or two of 'joining' hand containing all the letters in them.

For Secretary, the copy may be[1]:

'Exercise thyself much in God's book, with zealous and fervent prayers and requests.'

[1] Of course chosen so as to contain as many different letters of the alphabet as possible.

For Roman:

'Aequore cur gelido zephyrus fert xenia kymbis[1]?'

At the end of the copy-books, Brinsley suggests should be placed in a page or two the hard syllables of which he had treated when dealing with reading, so that 'by oft writing them over, pupils might be helped to spell and to write true orthography....If such copy-books were finely printed, being graven by some cunning workman, and those of the most perfect and plain forms of letters that could possibly be procured, in a strong and very white paper, one book or two would serve a scholar near all his time.' One of the difficulties of the teaching of writing was the 'changing of hands,' by masters employing divers kinds of writing. This, says Brinsley, hinders progress, as 'the often change of schoolmasters hinders learning.' The best should be chosen at the first, and 'stuck unto' without alteration. Since a suitable uniform engraved copy-book, embodying Brinsley's views, was not obtainable, he advises the Master to get copies written by the best available scrivener, for each boy to fasten to his writing-book. He adds: 'Few Masters or Ushers are fit penmen to write such copies as are necessary.'

'Fair' writing should be practised by all scholars throughout the school for an hour every day, the best time is to do this at one o'clock, for 'then commonly their hands are warmest and nimblest.' So as to write all letters of even length, there must be ruled lines. For this purpose, such boy must have his *ruling pen*. This was 'made of a quill somewhat like unto a pen; but onely that it is to be made with a nock in the nib or point of it, like the nock of an arrow, the nibs of the nock standing just of the breadth of their copy-letters asunder, that they may rule their rules meet of the same compass with their copies.' Every scholar who writes Latin is to have two ruling-pens, one for Secretary and the other for Roman.

[1] Brinsley remarks: 'Respect not the verse but the use.'

We can thus glean that much more was thrown on the child by the old methods of teaching writing. Nor does Brinsley let the master off easily. He is required to take great pains over the first efforts of the child.

'When the young scholar cannot frame his hand to fashion any letter; besides the guiding of his hand, and also the showing where to begin each letter, and how to draw it, some do use to draw before them the proportion of their letters, with a piece of chalk upon a board or table, or with a piece of black lead upon a paper; and then let the child try how he himself can draw the like upon it; and after this let him do it with his pen, following the letter of his book. Or, let him take a dry pen, that cannot blot his book, and therewith cause him to follow that letter in his copy which he cannot make, drawing upon the copy-letter very lightly and a little turning the side of the pen, where the letter is small; but leaning harder upon it where it is full, and there also turning the broad part of his pen....Thus let him follow his copy-letter, drawing his pen so oft upon it, until he think his hand will go like unto it. Then direct him to try with another pen with ink, whether he can make one like to that of his copy.'

The above passage is the earliest known to the present writer, mentioning the use of a board and chalk. It is still more noticeable because it enjoins on the teacher the method of requiring the child to make his letters large on a board or on a piece of paper before entering on copy-book writing.

Brinsley like Mulcaster recognises that writing is a form of drawing, but he is more detailed in his application of the principle. They both agree: 'The more leisurely the child draweth at the beginning as the painter doth and the more lightly, the sooner a great deal he shall learn to frame his hand to write fair.'

Other points dealt with by Brinsley are the learning to write, one letter only at a time, and to do this 'clean, fast and fair' by constant repetition, the practising of running the pen

on the paper, with ink and without it, and thus learning to glide the pen into 'rude flourishes'—a sort of 'free' drawing with the pen, the observation of the ornaments of writing, i.e. the graces of letters, entire plainness and accuracy of form of letters 'to fly all long tails of letters, and to preserve correct punctuation.' The teacher is to observe and correct all faults, and especially to note the formation of f, g, h, and m, 'which being made well do grace all the rest, and yet are commonly made the worst of all.' Finally, quick and clever pupils can be employed in helping the Master, to direct the backward and slow children. 'Hereby,' adds Brinsley, with the appearance of relief, 'the schools may be freed from having any need of the scriveners, which go about the country, at least which go under the name of scriveners and take upon them to teach to write; and do oft times very much hurt in the places where they come.' He afterwards explains that this adverse criticism does not apply to the 'honest scriveners,' but 'the shifters' amongst them.

The practice of writing at the end of the Commonwealth period is described by Charles Hoole in the *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*. Some of the details, naturally, are similar to those of the earlier account of Brinsley, but the two descriptions are valuable for comparison, and together give a fairly complete insight into the 17th century practice of school-writing[1].

Hoole says:

The Country Grammar Schools and Writing.

'The usual way for scholars learning to write at the country grammar schools is to entertain an honest and skilful Penman, that he may constantly come and continue with them about a month or six weeks together every year, in which time

[1] There is also a detailed account of the teaching of writing in Richard Lloyd's *Schoole-Masters' Auxiliaries*, 2nd ed. 1654.

commonly everyone may learn to write legibly. The best season for such a man's coming is about May-day, partly because the days are then pretty long, and partly because it will be requisite for such as are then getting their Grammar Rudiments, to learn to write before they come to Translations.' Hoole wisely adds: 'And that the stock which they then get, may be better increased against the next year, the Penman should cause them to write a piece, a day or two before he leave them, as fair as they can, with the date above it, and their names subscribed underneath, which the schoolmaster may safely keep by him as a testimony of what they can perform, and take care to see that their writing for the future be not much worse.'

City Grammar Schools and Writing.

'(In London) it is ordinary for scholars at eleven and five o'clock to go to the Writing Schools, and there to benefit themselves in writing. In that City, therefore, having the opportunity of the neighbourhood of my singular loving friend, Mr James Hodder (whose copy-books of late printed, do sufficiently testify his ability for the profession he hath undertaken, and of whose cares and pains I have had abundant trial by his profiting of my scholars for (at least) twelve years together; who had most of them learned of him to write a very fair hand; not to speak of Arithmetic or Merchants Accounts, which they gained also by his teaching at spare times). In the Token-house Garden in Lothbury, somewhat near to the Old-Exchange, I so ordered the business with him, that all my lower scholars had their little paper-books ruled, wherein they writ their lessons fair, and then their translations and other exercises in loose papers in his sight, until they were able to do everything of themselves in a handsome manner. And afterwards, it is not to be expressed, what pleasure they took in writing and flourishing their exercises, all the while they continued with me in the school.'

Hoole relates that the great private schoolmaster, Thomas Farnaby, required his writing master to come to his scholars daily. Hoole adds: 'I have been sorry to see some of that reverend and learned Mr Hooker's sermons come in manuscript to the press, and not to have been possible to be printed, because they were so scribblingly written that nobody could read three words together in them. It is commonly objected to the best scholars in any of the three professions that they write the worst hands, and, therefore, I wish that care may be taken to prevent that objection at the school, to a future generation[1].'

The observations of Christopher Wase, in 1678, form a convenient summary of the position of writing at the end of our period. As to writing, Wase[2] is of opinion 'it cannot be too universally propagated,' though he protests against its employment to the discouragement of other 'more excellent arts and sciences.'

'The truth is in petty schools (and such are the most in every county) no small regard is to be had to writing: that the Master bring his scholar to a fair engrossing Secretary, or the neat Italian cursive: and if he be designed for the Law to acquaint him with the large exemplifying Court-hand: and the lesser wherein old Rolls are written with their Abridgements would be of singular use to him[3].'

'I do not say that in the greater Grammar-schools Masters can much attend to that business: yet there also is exacted that the child bring his *exercise written fairly*, as he can, without blots and without dashes, the marks of precipitate negligence.'

Of the old writing-masters, Peter Bales and Martin Billingsley may be named. Peter Bales won a golden pen worth £20 in a contest for handwriting from Daniel Johnson. He taught at his house, called in memory of the contest, The Hand and

[1] *New Discovery*, p. 287. *See* note to p. 140 above.
[2] *Considerations*, p. 108. [3] *Ibid.* p. 107.

Golden Pen. He wrote, in 1590, the *Writing Schoolmaster*, for teaching 'swift writing, true writing, fair writing!' In 1618, Martin Billingsley, master in the art of writing, produced *The Pen's Excellency or the Secretary's Delight*[1]. Cocker, too, ought to be mentioned (1631–1675). By 1660 he had published ten books giving examples of writing. These he engraved himself. His fame is usually supposed to rest upon his Arithmetic, which, again, has been described as a forgery. It is certain, however, that he had high reputation as an Arithmetician, a fact which is indicated by the citation 'According to Cocker.' It is certain also that in 1657 he published his *Plumæ Triumphus, or the Pen's Triumph*. With a marvellous intricacy of flourishes he dashes off with his quill a picture of himself mounted on a steed, with a laurel wreath in his hand, dragging a triumphal car, in which is seated a tyro with a pen in his hand, and in front of which is placed a bird of good omen. At this time he was a teacher of the two arts of writing and arithmetic, and in 1661 a warrant was issued to pay Edward Cocker, scrivener and engraver, the sum of £150 as a gift. These private teachers of writing were an important class of extra-academic instruction. So distinctly marked were they as a separate branch of the profession, that a History of Writing-masters was written in 1763 by Mr William Massey, called *The Origin and Progress of Letters*. That the profession was lucrative in some instances, is shown by the fact that one well-known writing-master, flourishing about 1680, made an income of £800 per annum, 'a fine income,' adds the historian, 'for a writing-master.' Writing, as a fine art, it may be added, reached its climax in England in the publication of Mr George Bickham's *Universal Penman* in 1741.

[1] These and other early English Writing Books are described by Mr E. F. Strange in *Bibliographica*, III. pp. 41–69 and pp. 156–172. *See* also 'The History of English Handwriting,' A.D. 700–1400, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., in *Transactions of Bibliographical Society*, V. p. 109 et seqq. and second part p. 213 et seqq.

The following is a list of 'Copy-Books in quarto,' with prices, taken from Robert Clavel's General Catalogue of Books in 1675, by which time writing had become an important subject:

Gething's Re-divivus, price 3*s.*
Cocker's England's Penman, 2*s.* 6*d.*
Hodder's Penman's Recreation, 2*s.*
Cocker's Art's Glory, 2*s.*
Cocker's Penna Volans, 2*s.*
Country Schoolmaster, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Cocker's Magnum in Parvo.
Cocker's Multum in Parvo.
The Country Copy Book.
Davis's Writing Schoolmaster, 1*s.* each.
Billingsley's Pen's Perfection, 9*d.*
Cocker's Copy Book, with new additions, 9*d.*
The Young Lawyer's Writing Master.
Cocker's Youth's Directions to write without a Teacher, 6*d.* each.

Note A.

Further representative copy-books, shorthand books, etc. in the period were:

B., E. *Rules made by E. B. for children to write by (in verse). A new Booke, containing all sortes of handes usually written at this daie in Christendom*, etc. 1571, 4to. 1590, 8vo.

Purfoot, Thomas, Printer. *A very proper Treatise; wherein is briefly set foorth the art of limming, and how to make sundrye syses or groundes to lay silver or golde upon, and how to temper golde and silver and other mettals, etc. to write or limm withall upon velym, parchment or paper, and how to varnish it when done, etc. verye meete to be knowne to all such as delight in limming or tricking of armes in their colours, and therefore to be adjoined to the books of armes.* Lond. 1583, 4to.

Bales, Peter. *Brachygraphy, or The Writing Master, in Three Books; teaching swift Writing, True Writing, and Fair Writing.* 1590, 1597, 8vo. 1673, 4to.

William (Caleb). *Autodidactus a round-hand coppy-book.....invented, written and engraven by C. William sold by J. Pack at ye 3 Ink Bottles.* (London), 1593, obl. 12mo.

The Art of Stenographie, teaching by plaine and certaine rules...the way of compendious writing Whereunto is annexed a very easie direction for Steganographie, or, secret writing, etc. H. Seise, London, 1602, 16mo.

Martin (M.). *Theatrum Artis Scribendi, varia summorum nostri Seculi Artificum Exemplaria complectens, novem diversis linguis exarata. Judoco Hondio Caelatore.* Amstelodami apud Joannem Janssonium, 1614.

Billingsley (Martin). *The Pen's Excellencie or The Secretaries Delights (with a portrait).* 1618, obl. 8vo.

Comley (William). *A copy-book of all the most usual English hands, with an alphabet of the text capitals, fit for the unskilful to practise by.* 1622.

Brown (David). *The New Invention, intituled, Calligraphia: Or, the Arte of faire Writing.* E. Raban, St Andrews, 1622, 8vo.

Willis (Edmond). *An Ab[b]reviation of Writing by Character....With plaine...rules for the speedy performance thereof....The second edition, much enlarged*, etc. G. Purslowe, London, 1627, 12mo.

Fitzer (Wilhelm). *C[h]aracters and diversitie of letters used by divers nations in the World, the Antiquity, manifold use and varitie thereof: with Exemplary descriptions of very many strang[e] alphabets. Curiously cut in brasse by J. T. de Bry.* John Nicol: Stolzenberger for William Fitzer, Franckfurt on the Mayne, 1628, 4to.

Willis (John). *The Art of Stenography or Short-Writing, by Spelling Characteric....The ninth ed. Whereunto is now adjoyned the Schoolemaster to the said art*, etc. Printed for H. Seyle, London, 1628, 8vo. 2 pts. 1628–32, 16mo.

Billingsley (Martin). *A Coppie Book containing a varietie of Examples of all the most curious hands written....The second edition.* 1637, obl. 8vo.

Brown (David). *The Introduction to the true understanding of the whole Arte of Expedition in teaching to Write. Intermixed with rare discourses of other matters, to shew the possibility of skill in teaching, and probability of successe in learning to write in 6 hours*, etc. 1638, 4to.

R., M. *A President for Yong Pen-men; or the Letter Writer: Contayning Letters of sundry sorts, with their severall Answers....4th Impression, newly corrected and amended by the Author. (With a preface subscribed M. R.)* B. L. London, 1638, 4to.

Rich (Jeremiah). *Charactery*, etc. 1646.

Petty (Sir William). *Double Writing.* Lond. 1647, fol.

A Dedication concerning the newly invented Art of Double Writing. 1648, 4to.

Hughes (Louis). *A copy-book containing plain and easy Directions to fair Writing.* Not dated (but Advertised in J. Johnson's copy-book which was published in 1654).

Gery (Peter). (*Copy-Book*) *Of all the hands in use, performed according to the natural freeness of the pen. Gerii Veri in arte scriptoria quondam celeberrimi opera.* (Engraved by Wm. Faithorne.) (There is a date to one of the plates April 20, 1659.)

Hodder (James). *The Penman's Recreation, containing...examples of fair writing....Engraved by E. Cocker.* Lond. 1660? obl. 4to. [In Clavel's list.]

Gething (Richard). *Calligraphotechnia; or, the art of faire writing sett forth and newly enlarged, etc.* Lond. 1652, obl. 8vo.

Gething Redivivus: or the pens masterpiece restored being the last work of that...master in this art, containing exemplars of all curious manner of making all sorts of bonds, etc. Lond. 1664, obl. 8vo. [In Clavel's list.]

Johnson (J.). *Copy book, containing experimental Precepts and usual Practices of fair and speedy writing.* Lond. 1669, 4to. (The engraved title-page bears date 1651.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE TEACHING OF MUSIC. SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

After the Song Schools were dissolved, along with the Chantry Schools, the school teaching of music declined, except in the Cathedral Choristers' Schools and a few other schools[1]. Nevertheless the art of music itself flourished, and the Renascence spirit stimulated its development, as it stimulated every direction of mental activity. Accordingly, the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and the early Stuarts are recognised as periods of high musical proficiency and activity. But not in the schools. Grammar and music lost their old union, and became more and more differentiated both theoretically and practically. In pre-Reformation times, the tendency had been for the Music-master to sink into a position of admitted inferiority to the Grammar Master. In post-Reformation times, if there were several masters on a staff, the assistant masters did not usually include a Music-master. The interest in the Grammar School became concentrated on Renascence classical studies. In the articles for the Reformation of Cathedral Churches provision was made, in the Cathedral Churches of the new

[1] For instance, William of Waynflete in founding his College of St Mary Magdalen at Oxford ordained that one of the Chaplains or Clerks should teach the 16 Choristers plain song and other kinds of singing. This Music School has had a continuous existence from its foundation. The elementary portion of the education of the choristers was entrusted to the Instructor of music.

Foundations, for a free Song School, as well as for a free Grammar School. In the 'free song school,' the children were to be taught 'to read, to write, sing and play upon instruments of music,' and in addition to be taught 'their A.B.C. in Greek and Hebrew.' On the other hand, there is no mention of any elementary music studies to be undertaken in the free Grammar School. While in the Choristers' Schools pupils would be prepared, as before the Reformation, for taking part in the music of divine service, the character of the musical element in the services was to be radically changed. In 1544, Archbishop Cranmer wrote a letter to King Henry VIII showing how he himself had endeavoured to translate Latin processional services into English. 'I made them,' he says, 'only for a proof, to see how the English would do in song.'

In 1559, Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions dealt with Church music in a studiously moderate way. It was recognised that in collegiate and some parish Churches there had been 'livings' for men and children, to sing in the Church. This had tended to bring the science of music into estimation and to preserve the knowledge of it. The Queen had no desire to 'injure music.' She, therefore, enjoins: 'That no alteration be made in the payments of singers, but that it be permitted at the beginning or end of common prayers, morning or evening to sing a hymn or such like song, in the best melody or music, as long as the words be distinguishable.'

Explicitly, no attack on music was intended by this Injunction, yet the older variety and intricacy of musical service were forbidden. The Injunction makes no suggestion of re-providing the old Song Schools which had been suppressed. All that it promises is no alteration in the way of further diminution, and a restriction in the employment of music in the services of the Church. Religious music was a large element in printed music in the 16th century. In a Monograph on *Music Printing*, Mr R. Steele has made an exhaustive study of the

music printed up to 1600. The list[1] includes Manuals, Processionals, Missals, Hymnals. It also includes music treatises such as:

William Bathe's *Introduction to the Skill of Song*, 1587.
William Bird's *Pathway to Music*, 1596.
Holborne, *Citharn School.*
Morley's *Plaine and easie Introduction to Practical Music*, 1597.

The only other treatises calling for mention are: John Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Music*, 1658 (2nd ed.), and Mace's *Musick Monument*, 1676.

But these books were intended rather for teachers of music than for general use.

Elementary instruction was provided for in one publication, of enormous circulation, viz., Sternhold and Hopkins' *Whole Book of Psalms.*

This book contained a *Short Introduction into the science of Musicke, made for such as are desirous to have the knowledge thereof for the singing of these Psalms*, and was, apparently, the most general text-book for instruction in music in the later part of the 16th century.

The first form of this book was published about 1549, though it was not till the 6th edition in 1562 that the whole Book of Psalms was included. By 1600 there were 74 editions, between 1600 and 1700, 235 editions, and up to 1868 it is said that 601 editions have been distinguished[2].

Both in England and in America, Psalm singing, either from Sternhold and Hopkins, or later in England from Tate and Brady, and in America from Ainsworth and the Bay Psalm Book[3], has had a remarkable history. But this belongs to the history of the Church and the Family. It is the fulfilment of

[1] Mr Steele's Monograph was published by the Bibliographical Society, 1903. The first strictly musical work in England, beginning 'In this boke ar conteynyd .xx songes,' was published in 1530.

[2] A. M. Earle, *Sabbath in Puritan New England*, p. 176.

[3] Mr Wilberforce Eames has written a Bibliography of this book.

what had been laid down in mediaeval times, as for instance, at the Winchester Diocesan Synod of 1295[1]:

'The parents of boys should be induced to let their boys, after they know how to read the Psalter, learn singing also; lest by chance after they have learned higher subjects they should be obliged to go back to this, or being ignorant of it, should be always less fit for divine service.'

The business side of music does not seem to have been particularly successful. In 1575, a Patent was granted to Mr Bird and Mr Tallis, of her Majesty's Chapel, for all music books and the printing of all ruled paper, for the pricking of any song to the lute virginals or other instrument. 'This paper,' says Christopher Barker, 'is somewhat beneficial. As for the music books I would not provide necessary furniture to have them.'

'To prick' meant to write, and was the term used to distinguish written music from sight singing, which was called 'plain-song.' The study of 'Prick-song' probably included the copying of music[2], and some idea of the importance of original writing and copying of music may be gathered from Barker's suggestion that the sale of paper for the purpose was a better part of Bird and Tallis's Patent than the sale of music-books. In 1598, a Patent was granted to Thomas Morley for 21 years in 'Song-books and ruled paper.'

The widening-out of employments in non-ecclesiastical directions, whereby freedom of musical form and development was encouraged, the publications of music from the printing press, the communication of musicians internationally in an age of Learning, the patronage of the great, which spread to music as well as other subjects, together with the spirit of the Renascence itself (which permeated every form of mental activity, especially those severed from ecclesiastical control), tended to bring about the Revival of Music along with that of

[1] A. F. Leach, *Winchester*, p. 140.
[2] So Mr Abdy Williams has suggested.

Letters, especially in England. This took place in spite of any loss which had ensued through the suppression of the Song Schools. The study of the classics, particularly Plato, revealed anew the worth of Music as laid down by the philosopher. The ancient writers were quoted to add a halo to the popular consciousness. Nor must it be forgotten that the old chivalric disciplines, which after dominating the Courts of Italy had spread to Northern Courts and had given a new dignity and charm to the early Renascence, made our English sovereigns protectors and patrons of the newly-aroused vigour of the arts, and not least that of Music. Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth, were themselves musicians of no mean order, and their powerful influence was used to advance music. In Henry VIII's reign, flourished John Redford and John Merbecke. In Elizabeth's reign, are the greater names of William Bird, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Morley, John Dowland and a host of others. 'Contrapuntal music,' says Mr Rockstro[1], 'north of the English Channel, then reached its highest level.' Nor was its vogue restricted to the scientific musicians. If, as Mr Stopford Brooke says, life ran high in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it ran joyously through its music.

'Tinkers sang catches; milkmaids sang ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the base viol hung in the drawing-rooms for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern, and virginals, for the amusement of waiting customers were the necessary furniture of the barber's shop. They had music at dinner; music at supper; music at weddings; music at funerals; music at night; music at dawn; music at work, and music at play[2].'

Ascham, indeed, was afraid of an excess of music, and quoted Galen who said 'Much music marreth man's manners.' 'So, too,' adds Ascham, 'Plato hath said the same thing in his

[1] *Social England*, III. p. 509.

[2] Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, I. p. 98: quoted from Deloney's *History of the Gentle Craft*, 1598.

de Republica, in a passage "which Tully himself excellently translated."' But we know from the *Toxophilus* that Ascham highly approved of Music, if kept within its limits.

Sir Nicholas Bacon in his proposals for the better education of her Majesty's Wards in 1561, submitted to Sir Wm Cecil, gave music a strong position in the curriculum.

The following is Mr Payne Collier's account of Sir Nicholas's suggestions:

'It may appear singular that in these articles, drawn up by Sir Nicholas, so much stress is laid upon instruction in music; but it only serves to confirm the notion that the science was then most industriously cultivated by nearly every class of society. The wards are to attend divine service at six in the morning: nothing is said about breakfast, but they are to study Latin until eleven; to dine between eleven and twelve; to study with the music-master from twelve till two; from two to three they are to be with the French master; and from three to five with the Latin and Greek masters. At five they are to go to evening prayers; then they are to sup; to be allowed honest pastimes till eight; and, last of all before they go to bed at nine, they are again to apply themselves to music under the instruction of the master.'

In the proposed Queen Elizabeth's Academy (Sir Humphrey Gilbert, c. 1572), there was to be one teacher of music, 'and to play the lute, the bandora and cittern, 26 li. per annum, with an usher at 10 li. per annum.' Music as an educational subject is discussed as part of a gentleman's education in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Gouvernour* (1531), Castiglione's *Courtier*, Hoby's Translation (1561), Keper's *Romei's Courtiers' Academie* (1598), Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622), and other books on Gentlemen's Education.

Richard Mulcaster was the boldest educational advocate for Music as he was for so many educational 'positions,' which later ages have confirmed. 'Our age,' he says, 'doth allow it.' It is best learned in childhood, when 'it can do least harm,'

and may best be learned. Its physical use is pointed out, viz., to 'spread the voice instruments within the body.' It has both profit physically and produces pleasure. The following passage in his *Elementarie*, has not, apparently in modern times been quoted, and yet it is part of the most educational account of music teaching, of the Elizabethan era:

'*The plat and method for the principles of Music.*

'As for Music, which I have divided into voice and instrument, I will keep this current. The training up in music as in all other faculties hath a special eye to these three points:

'1. The child himself, that is to learn:

'2. The matter itself, which he is to learn:

'3. And the instrument itself, wherein he is to learn.

'Wherein I will deal so for the first and last, that is for the child and the instrument, as neither of them shall lack, whatsoever is needful, either for framing of the child's voice, or for the righting of his finger, or for the pricking of his lessons, or for the tuning of his instrument. For the matter of Music, which the child is to learn, I will set it down now, and by what degrees and in what lessons, a boy that is to be brought up to sing, may and ought to proceed by ordinary ascent, from the first term of Art, and the first note in sound, until he shall be able without any often or any great missing, to sing his part in prick-song, either himself alone, which is his first in rudeness, or with some company, which is his best in practice. For I take so much to be enough for an Elementarie institution.... And yet because the child must still mount somewhat that way, I will set him down some rules of setting and discant, which will make him better able to judge of singing being a setter himself, as in the tongue, he that useth to write, shall best judge of a writer....

'Concerning the virginals and lute which two instruments I have therefore chosen, because of the full music which is

uttered by them and the variety of fingering, which is showed upon them, I will also set down so many chosen lessons for either of them, as shall bring the young learner to play reasonable well on them both, though not at the first sight, whether by the ear, or by the book, alway provided that prick-song go before playing.'

Mulcaster was thus himself a musician, and that he taught the subject in Merchant Taylors' School (of which he was Head-master) we have the assurance of Judge Whitlocke[1] one of his pupils. 'His care was my skill in musique in which I was brought up by daily exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments.'

Taken by itself, Mulcaster's tribute to music and his practice in teaching might be interpreted as testimony to its recognised position as a subject of instruction in the school. But John Brinsley on the other hand, who, in 1612, deals with the whole curriculum of the elementary course and of the Grammar School does not mention it in the *Ludus Literarius*, nor even does William Kemp, in his *Education of Children* in 1588, include Music in the curriculum which he sketches, though in the preface to a translation which Kemp made of the Arithmetic of Peter Ramus, he associates Music with Arithmetic. His words are: 'What is music in sounds, in harmony, and in their spaces, concords and diverse sorts, but only arithmetic in hearing?' The fact is, Music was crowded out of the Grammar School subjects. This must be said in spite of the writer of what seems to be the only distinctive book which could be possibly termed a school text-book on music:

Principles of Musik, for singing and setting: with the twofold use thereof (Ecclesiasticall and Civil). By Charles Butler, Magd. Master of Arts. London, Printed by John Haviland, for the Author, 1636.

Butler was the Master of Music in the Song School in connexion with Magdalen College, Oxford, which was not suppressed

[1] *Liber Famelicus* (Camden Society Reprints), 1868, p. 12.

at the Reformation, but has a long and important history related by Mr Bloxam[1]. Accordingly, Butler who was an accomplished grammarian (and phonetician) speaks with no uncertain views as to the position of Music.

Butler says in his dedication—to the most noble and gracious Lord Charles by the Grace of God, Prince of Great Britain, France and Ireland:

'SIR,

There is nothing that more conduceth to the prosperity and happiness of a kingdom than the good education of youth and children; in which the Philosopher[2] requireth these arts especially to be taught them (Grammar, Music, Gymnastic): this last for the exercise of their limbs in activity and feats of arms; the other two for the ordering of their voices in Speech and Song....

That these two (Grammar and Music) should not be parted in the discipline of children, Quintilian showeth, where he saith that Grammar cannot be perfected without Music[3]. And again that Grammar is under Music and that the same men formerly taught them both[4]. And for Music itself, the Philosopher concluded the special necessity thereof in breeding of children, partly from its natural delight, and partly from the efficacy it hath, in moving affections and virtues....'

The number of schools, outside of Cathedral Schools, where such a book could have been used, must have been small. The following instances of the teaching of music in schools in the period may be cited:

[1] *Register of Magdalen College, Oxford*, Vol. II.

[2] Aristotle, *Politics*, l. II. c. 3.

[3] Neque citra Musicen Grammatice potest esse perfecta cum ei de Metris Rhythmis dicendum sit. *Instit. Orat.* l. I. c. 4 § 4.

[4] Archytas atque Aristoxenus subjectam Grammaticen Musicae putaverunt, et eosdem utriusque rei preceptores fuisse. *Ibid.* c. 10 § 17.

In the time of Queen Elizabeth:

'The City of London advertised the musical abilities of boys educated in the charity schoole of Bridewell and Christ's Hospital as a mode of recommending them as servants, apprentices or husbandmen[1].'

In Christ's Hospital[2] (founded 1552), a teacher was to be appointed for 'prick-song' whose yearly fee was to be £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* The low salary indicates the view held of the position of a Music-master in a Grammar School. The following minute of the Court, in 1589, shows their low opinion of the profession of a musician. 'Henceforth none of the children of the Hospital shall be put apprenticed to any musyssionar other than such as be blinde, Lame, and not able to be put to other service.' In 1609 the Music-master's stipend was increased to £16. He was 'to teach the art of music to 10 or 12 only of the children,' and train them up 'in the knowledge of prick-song,' and to instruct them also in writing and the catechism, and 'whereas the children in general go to burials,' one half of the singing children must be left behind, so that his school be not empty 'unless it be a special or double funeral.'

In an account of Christ's Hospital, John Howes in 1587 gave the following as his views on music teaching. They are particularly interesting, as soon after 1609, virginals, viols and books were given to the Hospital to the value of £10. 6*s.* 6*d.* This is the only instance known to the writer of provision made for the teaching of instrumental music in a school of the period.

'I also thinck it convenient that the children should learne to singe, to play vppon all sorts of instruments, as to sounde the trumpett, the cornett, the recorder or flute, to play vppon shagbolts, shalmes, & all other instruments that are to be plaid vppon, either wth winde or finger, bycause nature yelds her

[1] Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, I. p. 98.

[2] The details in this account of Christ's Hospital are taken from an article in the *Musical Times*, Sept. 1905, by Mr F. G. Edwards.

seuerall gifts and there is an aptnes of conceavinge in some more than in other some, and yett every child apt to learne the one or the other, those quallities cannott be greatly chargeable bycause they are the gifts of God in nature, and they are quallities that every honest minde taketh great pleasure and delight in, and no doubt if the children be well tought, plyde, & followed it wilbe a redy meane to preferre a number of them havinge theis quallities.'

Christ's Hospital at Horsham has been distinguished for its provision in music up to the present time. Its Chapel Services are fully choral. Its Music School is conspicuous in the School organisation.

At Westminster School c. 1560 onwards, twice a week an hour was given to music with the Choirmaster.

In the Dulwich College Statutes (1626) it is provided 'That the music masters of the said College for the time being shall teach and instruct in song and music freely, all persons which are in the said College at the master and warden's appointment and for any other scholars which desire to learn song or music, they shall receive such rewards as the master or Warden for the time being shall appoint, the benefits of which or any otherwise accruing to the two said music masters shall be equally divided between them, the charge of strings, pens, ink and paper first deducted.'

The School hours at Dulwich were 6 a.m. to 9.30 a.m. and 1.0 to 4.0 p.m.[1] The music was to be taken at 9.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. and on play days at 1.0 p.m. The music was therefore voluntary, and was taught out of school hours. This must have affected the numbers of those attending.

At Rivington Grammar School (Statutes 1566) 'Some hour of the day boys are to learn to sing and to write.'

In 1652 the English School was founded by Colfe at Lewisham, for 31 boys to be taught reading, writing, Psalm-singing and the Accidence.

[1] The winter months 7 a.m. till 9.30 a.m. and from 1.0 to 3.30 p.m.

A comparison of Elementary Schools founded in this period to teach Reading, Writing and Casting Accounts, with those of Pre-Reformation times, would seem to imply that in the later Tudor and Stuart period, Music gave way in the curriculum to Arithmetic in the Elementary Schools and lost its place in the Grammar Schools.

It may justly be said that this is one of the instances in which the Grammar School placed itself out of touch with the social activities of the times. As Seneca had said of his age, musicians might have said in the Elizabethan and later ages of the Grammar School: *non vitae sed scholae discimus.* Still, the great men of the age entered into the culture of the age, in spite of the Grammar Schools. Shakespere reflects the musical culture of his age, as did Spenser, Sidney, Ben Jonson. It was part of the culture of the age; perhaps we may say, somewhat as the scientific bearing of evolution is to-day.

Thomas Morley in his *Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), introduces a pupil as saying:

'But supper being ended, and music-books, *according to custom*, being brought to the table, the mistress of the house presented me with a part, earnestly requesting me to sing; but when, after many excuses, I protested unfeignedly that I *could not*, everyone began to wonder; yea, some whispered to others, *demanding how I was brought up*, so that upon shame of mine ignorance I go now to seek out mine old friend, Master Gnorimus, to make myself his scholar[1].'

Indications of the general interest and skill in music are to be found in books on other subjects. In De la Mothe's *French Alphabet* (1647), a book of French pronunciation and construction, is the passage (in English and French):

'What shall we sing now? Shall we sing a song of four parts? It is well said. You shall sing the Base [bass], Master N. shall sing the counter tenor, I will sing the tenor, and

[1] For further illustrations of the estimation of music in Elizabethan times, see Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, I. p. 98 et seqq.

Mistress N. shall sing the treble. Let us keep good time. Begin, there is a very good song.' (Then he passes to the lute and virginals.)

How are we to reconcile these frequent references to the knowledge and practice of music, with its absence from the Grammar School curriculum? 'Extra subjects' like Music were chiefly studied by gentlemen's children, and were chiefly taught by private teachers. As Mr Leach has so persistently pointed out, the Grammar Schools were originally 'free' schools, with the object of training 'poor' scholars. Popular music had no connexion with the schools. It was the survival of the old influences which had produced the old order of minstrels, and wandering musicians. Skilled musicianship was a specialist accomplishment, in the first place, due to the old chivalric and court form of enjoyment and occupation, tracing itself back to troubadours and trouvères, and the spirit which made Richard I, in his wanderings, solace himself as a minstrel. It was a gentlemanly exercise. The 'middle classes' who sprang into importance in the time of the Tudors and Stuarts, entered into the heritage of the nobles and gentry, on the intellectual side. Their sons, or rather the best of them, took up studies in theology, law and medicine. More generally still they pursued the serious side of music, bringing to it a puritanic glow. Thus, men like Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Colonel Hutchinson and John Evelyn were proficient in music. Nor did English refugees abroad neglect the pursuit, Edmund Verney in the Commonwealth learned his music abroad[1].

[1] The following is a list of his Music-books:

(M. André is his music master.)

A Note of Mun's books for Music and Designing.

One Music book in folio, filled up with Italian songs by Sig[r] Archangelo at Rome.

One other Music Book (but not in folio) filled up also at Rome by Sig[r] Archangelo with Italian songs.

Music, therefore, though an educational development, was not an outcome of the scholastic institutions of the time. Luther's insistence[1] on family life became a basis of education and was as fruitfully realised in Puritan England as in Germany. The progress of Music as an art, in England, was not scholastic but domestic. Examples of musical practice are therefore not mainly to be found in school statutes and records but in biographies of individuals, and particularly in the families of the later 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. In the books on the education of princes, nobles and gentlemen, almost without exception we find music required as a part of education. The new middle-class ideal of music-training is nowhere more nobly exemplified than by John Milton. His father, a scrivener, as is well known, was an excellent musician. Professor Masson[2] paints a charming picture of the family music, with the scrivener's children, apprentices and friends, and the 'little household concert,' where each would take a part in the singing of the father's own compositions. Milton, in his *Tractate of Education* (1644) speaks of the place of music. The intervals of study of the students in an academical institution should 'both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the

Five other old Music books bought at Rome.
One Guitar Book, printed, bought at Rome.

(*Brought from Blois.*)

One Printed Book of Chansons a dancer made 1651.
One Music Book bound up in a Parchment cover filled up by Monsr André. There is also at the other end of the book several pieces for the Lute and Theorboe.
Three other Music Books wholly filled up by Monsr André.
One great Paper Book for designing filled up by Mun.

Verney, *Memoirs*, III. p. 80.

[1] Luther was moreover a strong advocate of Music in the Schools. He said: 'Unless a schoolmaster know how to sing, I think him of no account.'

[2] *Life of Milton*, I. p. 53.

solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learnt, either while the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimagineable chords of some choice composer: sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle.'

It is usual to suppose that during the Commonwealth the cultivation of English music was 'utterly extinguished.' This is true in the sense that organs and instruments of music in the Cathedrals and Churches were destroyed, and that the age was not one to give the restfulness and leisure necessary for great musical compositions. But that musical culture was lost in the Commonwealth is disproved by the readiness with which it flourished again after the Restoration. Nor is it at all certain that the family-music ceased. Leaders in the Commonwealth are known to have felt the power of music[1]. As a matter of fact, the most important educational step proposed in connexion with music in the 17th century, was the consideration in 1656–7 of a petition for the foundation of a College of Music.

The reasons for the study of music in the period are very varied. Quintilian who connected it with Grammar was often quoted with approval. Lily the grammarian regarded it as a great help to pronunciation and judgment. So Simon Daines in his *Orthoepia*, in 1640, regards it as an assistance to the learning to read:

'I remember my singing-master taught me to keep time, by telling from 1 to 4 according to the nature of the time I was to keep and I found the practice thereof much ease and certainty to me, till I was perfect in it. The same course I have used to my pupils in their reading to inure them to

[1] e.g. Cromwell himself 'delighted in Music.' Morley, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 429.

the distinction of their pauses, and found it to be no less successful.'

Mulcaster regarded it as a physical exercise; Kemp as a branch of Arithmetic. Again, Hoole mentions Music as a subject together with writing and arithmetic and other arts and sciences 'which are most obvious to the senses whereof their younger years are very capable.'

Towering above these practical reasons, are metaphysical considerations connecting music with the motion of the spheres and as entering into both the physical and mental essence of things and the Miltonic spiritual emotion in music.

> '.....That may
> With sweetness through mine ear
> Dissolve me into ecstasies
> And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.'

So varied are the views of Lily, Daines, Mulcaster, Kemp, Hoole, all educational writers. The quaint enthusiasm of a musician for singing perhaps has never received more comprehensive statement than William Bird's well-known eight reasons why everyone should learn to sing:

'1. It is a knowledge easily taught, and quickly learned, where there is a good master and an apt scholar.

'2. The exercise of singing is delightful to nature, and good to preserve the health of man.

'3. It doth strengthen all parts of the breast, and doth open the pipes.

'4. It is a singularly good remedy for a stuttering and stammering in speech.

'5. It is the best means to procure a perfect pronunciation, and to make a good orator.

'6. It is the only way to know where nature hath bestowed a good voice; and in many that excellent gift is lost, because they want art to express nature.

'7. There is not any music of instruments whatsoever comparable to that which is made of the voices of men; when the voices are good, and the same well sorted and ordered.

'8. The better the voice is, the meeter it is to honour and serve God therewith; and the voice of man is chiefly to be employed to that end.

'Since singing is so good a thing,
I wish all men would learn to sing[1].'

No subject could have received higher praise from educational writers and from specialists. Yet, the English Music of the 16th and 17th centuries is a remarkable object-lesson of a culture-development in a particular direction on a voluntary basis in which the school played scarcely any appreciable part, and academic guidance gave but little stimulus.

Like Logic, Music was dropped from the old School curriculum, to make way for the increasing stores of classical knowledge.

[1] Bird's *Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs*, 1588.

CHAPTER XIII.

MEDIAEVAL GRAMMAR SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

In the age preceding the Renascence, grammar instruction had to be given within the Colleges of both Cambridge and Oxford, even for those who intended eventually to proceed to higher Faculties. The Statutes of Merton College, Oxford, were drawn up in the year 1270. These are of special importance, since the Colleges of Balliol, University, Oriel at Oxford, and Peterhouse at Cambridge, borrowed closely from them. In these Statutes is a clause providing that there should be a *grammaticus* to teach grammar to the younger students. The rules for Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, c. 1366, require the teaching of scholars to include grammar.

William of Waynflete, the Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, instituted a younger body of thirty foundationers called demies, who were admissible at 12 years of age and were in the College School under the Informator or Master of Grammar.

A Grammar School was founded in connexion with Jesus College, Cambridge, having a well paid grammaticus[1] to teach it.

[1] Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge*, p. xxx *note* (Appendix A).

At King's College, Cambridge, the Statutes (1443) require only the higher subjects, the quadrivium, the reason being that preparation in the trivium was adequately met by the previous training of scholars at Eton College. The same of course held with New College, Oxford, to which the Winchester College scholars went. Accordingly these Colleges had no grammar school.

These instances indicate, or at least illustrate, the conclusion reached by Mr Mullinger: 'For a considerable period the students and masters of grammar were probably in point of numbers by far the most important element in the University[1].'

When a student trained in the Mediaeval approved course of a Faculty, in a University, came to 'incept,' i.e. to exercise the right of lecturing, which was conferred upon him by having satisfied the conditions of graduation, he knew far more than was represented by the teaching of grammar. He became a 'master,' with a claim upon the University to be provided with a school in which to lecture[2]. He could, of course, lecture in any faculty in which he had taken his degree, but as a matter of fact, it might be and was, apparently, easier to get pupils for grammar than for higher subjects. Students in the higher subjects would naturally prefer masters more experienced than the young 'inceptor.' Thus there would be a tendency for only the less capable inceptor to subside into Grammar School teaching. Moreover, there were Grammar Schools distinct from Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Anstey speaks of these as of an inferior and subordinate character, taught by men, who so far from being 'masters,' were subjected, at any rate at Oxford, to inspection[3]. In 1306 there was an enactment that two Masters of Arts were to be elected every year to inspect the schools of grammar in the University of Oxford. All teachers had to be licensed, but these grammar masters were not obliged to be graduates. Such a state of things led to a low level of work. The graduate teachers attempted to give 'cursory' lectures on their higher subjects and whilst also teaching grammar and receiving fees, neglected to do their grammar teaching. In 1492, it is stated that grammar masters were receiving payment without doing their work, whilst the master of the schools at the Augustines worked hard and received no salary. It is ordered 'that the salary of the grammar masters,

[1] *See* Mullinger, I. p. 169 and I. p. 238.

[2] Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, p. 415. [3] *Ibid.* p. 85.

in future, is to go to the Augustines Masters and they shall have the grammar teaching placed in their hands.'

Evidently there was a great demand for grammar masters, far in excess of the supply. As Mr Anstey says[1]:

'The existence of non-graduate teachers of grammar seems to have arisen from a scarcity of duly qualified persons willing to undertake the office in the face of the greater attractions of Logic, and of the superior faculties; hence the foundation of free grammar schools, a species of institution then in its infancy and encouraged by a peculiar exempting Statute at Oxford. The difficulty of providing proper secular graduates for this important service led also to the usurpation (so to speak) of grammar school pre-eminence so notoriously acquired by the Augustine friars.'

But earlier than this, in 1441, the scarcity of Grammar School teachers had been felt at Cambridge, and was met in a noteworthy way. One, William Byngham, relates[2] how 'on a journey the last part of the way leading from Hampton to Coventry, and so forth, no further north than Ripon, he had found seventy Schools void, or mo, that were occupied all at once, within 50 years passed, because that there is so great scarcity of Masters of Grammar.' Byngham's method of remedying this defect was to found a College for the study of grammar alone. This he did in 1441–2 by obtaining 'God's House,' previously a monastic building, and making it a Grammar School. But it was not, as Mr Rashdall points out, an ordinary Grammar School. It was essentially 'the first Training or Normal School on record.' It continued in existence with this object of training Grammar Masters from 1441–2 to 1505, at which latter date 'God's House' was absorbed into Christ's College. Unfortunately, there are no records to show the nature of the training which the grammar-teachers received there.

[1] Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, p. lxiii.

[2] *Documents, University of Cambridge*, III. p. 153.

The need of teachers of grammar was so marked that it had long been found necessary for the Universities to institute a degree in grammar, apart from other subjects of both the Trivium and the Quadrivium. It was distinctly a schoolmaster's degree. For degrees in grammar in the University of Cambridge, the following were the conditions[1]:

'The exercises of inception of a master in grammar were three public disputations on grammar, bachelors of arts or masters of grammar being the opponents, thirteen lectures on Priscian's Book of Constructions, of which the first should be *solennis*. It was required further that documentary or other evidence of his abilities, knowledge, morals and standing should be produced and approved by three masters of arts appointed for this purpose by the University. Finally, he was to be presented by a master of grammar or the master of glomery to the proctors, who should compel him to swear that he would incept in his faculty within one year after his admission or otherwise forfeit a mark to the University chest. He was further required to swear that he would read or lecture publicly after his inception, during one year, in Priscianus major, and that during that time he would hold three *convenite* (general conventions of his faculty, so designated, which took place at the beginning and end of each term), in each of which he would scan and parse (*declarabit*) a verse of some Latin poet after the manner of Priscian (in his work *On the Scansion and Construction of the Twelve Principal Verses of Vergil*).'

Peacock[2] gives extracts from the Registry of the University illustrating the working of this Statute at Cambridge. In 1501 Thomas Winne was entered in Grammar, having read eight lectures in Priscian minor, with two responsions, three *convenite* and eight lectures in Priscian major. In 1515, Dominus Ffykes, after one year's study in the University and two years' teaching in a country Grammar School, was admitted to incept

[1] Peacock, *Observations*, etc., p. xxxi (Appendix A).
[2] *Ibid.* p. xxxii.

in grammar. In 1537, Master Fynch was permitted to incept in grammar, after a study of seven years in grammar, besides practice for ten years in teaching boys. In 1539, Ed. Brown was to be recognised as qualifying to incept in grammar, after three years' study in grammar with much and continuous practice in teaching grammar in the country for six years, provided that his erudition and morals be first approved by Master Cheke, the Master of Glomery and four other masters[1]. As to the office of Master of Glomery, the only point which concerns us here is that no degrees in grammar were conferred without his approval first obtained. The systematic attempts thus made in the 15th century and earlier, point to the existence of a very considerable number of Grammar Schools in the country. An Oxford well known instance should be also mentioned, that of Robert Whittinton, who in 1513 was granted his petition for laureation in grammar, and admitted B.A. at the same time. In his petition he states that he had studied rhetoric for 14 years and had taught it for 12 years.

The order of teaching in mediaeval Grammar Schools was as follows[2]. Donatus and Alexander de Villa Dei were the Grammars. 'After the Psalms had been learned (this much was taught in the most elementary schools), Cato served for Delectus, after which the boy might be put into Ovid and possibly Vergil. In the absence of dictionaries the Master no doubt literally "read" the book to the pupils, i.e. construed it to them and afterwards required them to do the same. In England books were construed into French as well as English. Questions were asked in parsing and exercises set in prose and verse. Disputations in Grammar were also an institution. In the University, lectures in Grammar meant formal lectures

[1] Peacock notes that Master Cheke, afterwards Sir John Cheke, Regius Professor of Greek, was the last Master of Glomery. He adds that the degree in grammar was conferred for the last time at Cambridge in 1542.

[2] Rashdall, II. p. 603.

on the elaborate grammatical treatises of Priscian and Donatus or the more popular Alexander de Villa Dei[1].'

It must always be borne in mind in reading accounts of the curriculum and methods of teaching in mediaeval schools that the instruction was oral. Junior pupils probably possessed no books. The inventories[2] of possessions owned by those

[1] The Grammar Method at Oxford is thus given by Anstey: 'The "positive" and formal instruction of the scholars consisted, in great measure, of parsing in Latin (which was often neglected for the sake of "cursory" lectures). Greek is never mentioned and was never taught. The master was also obliged to set his scholars verses to compose, and letters to write, 'with express caution as to choice of words, length of clauses and absence of metaphor, etc., which exercises they had to write out on parchment on the next holiday, and produce them in school and repeat them by heart to their master on the day after. Thus we find that very ample provisions existed for proper grammatical training. The text book used appears to have been invariably Priscian or Donatus*, the rules of which were to be illustrated from authors of a proper kind, special care being taken to forbid the use of the amatory portions of Ovid and of Pamphilus and any other books whose contents suos scholares alliceret ad illicita vel provocaret.' (Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, p. lxx.)

* The parts specified are:

Priscian, *de Constructionibus.*

Donatus, *de Barbarismo.*

Anstey says: 'We may suppose that from two to four years would be the ordinary duration of their schooling in grammar' (p. lxxi).

[2] It seems clear that the private possession of books by those regarded as educated persons was very limited—even in the case of University scholars. Mr W. W. Rouse Ball quotes from Geo. Dyer's *Privileges of University of Cambridge*, the inventory of Leonard Metcalfe's goods (Metcalfe was a scholar of St John's College executed in 1541 for the murder of a townsman). His library was as follows: 'A Callepine, of the worst,' 1*s.* 8*d.*; Vocabularius juris et Gesta Romanorum, 4*d.*; Introductiones Fabri, 3*d.*; Horatius sine commento, 4*d.*; Tartaretus super Summulas, 2*d.*; The shepheard's Kalendar, 2*d.*; Moria Erasmi, 6*d.*; and Compendium quatuor librorum institutionum, 3*d.*; total value 3*s.* 8*d.*, 'equivalent,' as Mr Ball says, 'to rather more than two pounds now-a-days.' Mr Ball says that Metcalfe's library 'was unusually large.' The average country grammar-master before the introduction of printing, must have been in a parlous condition, as far as books were concerned.

who had been at the University, show but few owners of books except those who worked for the higher degrees in theology, law, medicine. 'Having no books themselves, the scholars used to carry the books of their masters to the school, a service for which they were rewarded by a grace dispensing with a portion of their studies, in fact, by a holiday.' Or, again, it appears that for such services academical exercises were dispensed with[1]. Outside of the Universities, there were, we have seen, a large number of town and country Grammar Schools[2]. In some cases possibly the equipment of books in such schools may have been equal or superior to the Grammar Schools of the University. Mr Leach[3], for example, draws up the following course of reading for Winchester:

'The books construed were no doubt the same as had been used throughout the Middle Ages. First came Vergil, to know whom was equivalent to being a good grammarian, his preeminence being partly due to his being the *corpus vile* from whom Priscian took the illustrations for his grammar. Next came Ovid, who is freely quoted throughout the Middle Ages. Then probably came the Christian authors, who were studied by Alcuin 550 years earlier, and are recommended by Colet 120 years later—Sedulius with his *Paschal Hymn*, and Juvencus with his *Gospels in Verse*; Prudentius on *Vice and Virtue*, Boethius' (so-called) *De informatione Scholarium* was in the Library, and Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, translated by Chaucer, would be amongst the most favourite authors. The *Moralia Catonis* (so-called) and Cicero were the staple prose books, the latter's *De Oratore* being the first text-book, a knowledge of which qualified in Rhetoric. In the Statutes of Queen's College the boys were to go on to dialectic and philosophy after a solid foundation in grammar. Neither of these are mentioned in the Winchester Statutes. Yet it cannot

[1] On the subject see Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, p. lxxviii.

[2] *See* p. 137.

[3] *History of Winchester College*, p. 167.

be doubted that those subjects which completed the *trivium* of the Grammar School were studied. Dialectic meant the art of disputation and Rhetoric the art of declamation; grammar questions being made the subject of discussion for dialectic.'

It is, however, to be observed that the list is clearly problematical.

In connexion with the Canterbury Cathedral School, Abbot Gasquet[1] gives a description of a lesson book of (probably) the 15th century. It consists of 220 folios. The first part is a dictionary, a *nominale*. Then come 30 folios of an elementary grammar. 'Fundamentally all these first grammars were the same and generally known as the *Donat*.' This part closes with a pious rhyming prayer, and then follow religious subjects, including an explanation of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Grammar-explanations of Holy Scripture alternate and lines are inserted to instruct the young monk as to the Order of S. Benedict. The use of English is interdicted in school time. Then comes an explanation of Eberhard the Grecian, and finally specimens of calligraphy, in which moral maxims and religious precepts find a place.

Bearing on the subject of school text-books, there is a picturesque description of an English Schoolmaster, by name Galfrid, and of the books he taught, of about the middle of the 15th century (just before the introduction of printing) written by Bale[2]. He writes from the Renascence standpoint with a due sense of superiority, but the indication of books is at least definite and valuable.

'Galfridus Grammaticus always from a boy brought up in schools under corrupt obscure and barbarous teachers having thoroughly learned the rudiments of this art, himself still more corrupt, became a teacher of others....In his readings (lessons) with boys he despised Cicero, Sallust, Servius, Pliny, Varro,

[1] *Old English Bible and other essays*, p. 272 et seqq.

[2] In his *Catalogue of the Writers of Great Britain* (Basle, 1557). Bale was an English Bishop, controversialist, and author of dramas.

Vergil, Horace, Quintilian and other good authors, and instead of them made use of that ruin of the Latin tongue and nausea of good wits, the sordid and horrible dregs of Alexander, Garlande, Johannes Balbus Januensis and the like in his grammar teaching. He gave to his scholars (auditoribus) the little treatises, written in Latin:

In doctrinale Alexandri, lib. 3.
In Joannis Garlandi Synonyma, lib. 1[1].
In Aequivoca eiusdem, lib. 1.
Expositiones hymnorum, lib. 1.
Hortus vocabulorum, lib. 1.
Medulla Grammatices, lib. 1.
Praeceptiones pueriles, lib. 1.
et eius farinae alia.'

In cases where books were possessed by the teacher, or when the teacher had access to a library, educational books were very largely either encyclopaedias or books of elegant extracts, i.e. *Florilegia*[2]. But the main resource of the teacher was his memory of such texts as he had heard lectured upon. Knowledge, therefore, of texts must have been very fragmentary, and the method being traditional, pupils at a Grammar School were dependent largely upon the place of training of their teacher. 'After the manner of Banbury School' meant a fixed and definite traditional Grammar, even after the introduction of printing. But other Grammars were forthcoming to compete with it, and by print, could be easily circulated. Before the introduction of printing, as in the Office of the Church, the use of Sarum, York, Hereford etc. pointed to variety of

[1] The Synonyma were printed by Pynson in 1496, 1500 and 1509, cum expositione magistri Galfridi Anglici, and also by W. de Worde, 1500–1518. Note by Albert Way in *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Preface, p. xvii. The *Multorum Verborum Equivocorum Interpretatio* (also by Garlande) was printed by W. de Worde as late as 1514.

[2] Sandys, *History of Classical Literature in the Middle Ages*, p. 638.

traditions, which became unified in a Book of Common Prayer, so local usages, books and traditions, probably obtained in school work, in a way we are apt to overlook. Where a man of ability and energy like John Stanbridge with newer views and wider reading sent forth pupils, who in their turn, became teachers, 'schools' of teaching-method less stereotyped than the common one of a common gloss on Donatus and Priscian may have arisen, and formed a school 'Use.' But oral methods of teaching are difficult to retrace, and the only hope of further knowledge of mediaeval grammar-teaching is a comprehensive gathering in of biographical details of school-life.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EARLY ENGLISH PRINTED GRAMMARS INCLUDING MAGDALEN COLLEGE SCHOOL (OXFORD) GROUP.

As to the chief grammars which appeared in print in England, before 1500, we need be in little doubt. The following list is taken from the MSS. Bibliography of English Incunabula kindly placed in my hands by Mr E. Gordon Duff.

Alexander de Villa Dei[1]. *Doctrinale.* (T. Rood and T. Hunt, Oxford) 1485. (Pynson, 1492. The only known copy at Appleby Grammar School. Contains 104 leaves.) (Pynson, 1498.)

Anwykyll, John. *Compendium totius grammatice.* (T. Rood and T. Hunt (Oxford, 1483).)

The *Vulgaria Terentii* is issued as a supplement.

Other editions of Anwykyll. Deventer, 1489, and Cologne, 1492.

Donatus (Aelius). *De octo partibus orationis.* William de Machlinia, London.

Donatus melior. (Wm Caxton.)

Donatus. R. Pynson, 1492.

Accedence. Wynkyn de Worde. 2 editions.

Donatus minor cum Remigio. Wynkyn de Worde (14 leaves). R. Pynson. Two editions (12 leaves).

Informatio Puerorum. R. Pynson, London (20 leaves). Two editions. Wynkyn de Worde (30 leaves).

[1] *See* p. 307.

Introductorium linguę Latinae. Wynkyn de Worde, 1495 and 1499 (36 leaves).

Latin Grammar. T. Rood, Oxford, 1481. Two leaves only known of this book.

Latin Grammar. R. Pynson, 1496. Two leaves only known. The text appears to be the same as in the preceding Oxford book but the commentary is different and shorter.

Parvula. Wynkyn de Worde (6 leaves). Three English editions and one edition published by Nicole Marcant (no place named), 1500.

Perottus, Nicholas. *Regulae grammaticales.* E. van der Heerstraten (Louvain), 1486 (124 leaves).

Stanbridge, J. R. Pynson, 1496 (12 leaves).

> what shalt thou doo whanne thou
> haste an English to make in laten I
> shal reherce myn englissh ones
> twyes or thries and loke onte my
> principal verbe
> & aske this questz.

Sulpicius. *Opus grammaticum.* R. Pynson, 1454 (70 leaves), also 1498. Wynkyn de Worde, 1499.

From a perusal of this list it will be seen that the foreign Donatus and Alexander de Villa Dei continue as grammarians for English Schools, together with the new Grammars of the foreigners Perottus and Sulpicius. All the rest appear to be English grammarians, with the new views of the Renascence. Amongst the earliest writers of printed Grammars, Anwykyll and Holt wrote their Latin Grammars in the vernacular. Whether any of the old Mediaeval MS. writers of Grammars wrote in English is uncertain.

The first Latin Grammar printed in English was published in 1481, at Oxford, by Theodore Rood. This has been identified by Mr A. E. Shaw[1], with the 'long' *Parvula*, attributed

[1] 'Earliest Latin Grammars in English.' *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, v. (July, 1901) p. 52.

to Stanbridge, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. It contains as opening lines, the famous 'what shalt thou doo when thou hast an englysshe to make in Latyne? I shall rehearse myn Englysshe fyrst ones twyes or thryes and loke out my princypal verbe and aske hym this question who or what. And that worde that answereth to the question shall be the nominatyf case to the verbe.'

Mr Shaw thus describes the long *Parvula*: 'It consists of rules of elementary Syntax with examples in Latin and English. Occasionally verses are inserted, taken with alterations from the *Graecismus* of Eberhard or from other sources, those in the Hunt and Rood fragment beginning: *Hic libet atque licet placet et liquet accidit inde* are a variant of some lines from the *Graecismus* of Eberhard, cap. XXVII. The verses "*quarto junge iuuat, decet, ac delectat, oportet*," are from the *Doctrinal* of Alexander.'

Next in importance in the English Incunabula Grammar list is Holt's *Lac Puerorum.*

Holt's book is distinguished by the inclusion of woodcuts, to help in the knowledge of the *Declensions.*

'One represents a hand stretched out, the five fingers of which are labelled with the names of the first five cases, while a place is found for the ablative on the ball of the thumb. This was perhaps felt to be rather a lame device, for a leaf or two farther on we have the same lesson illustrated more completely by a primitive drawing of a bunch of tallow candles, looped together at the top by the wicks. Being "sixes," they can be made to stand for the six cases; while across them horizontally, are printed the terminations of the five declensions. Such a rough paradigm would impress itself on the minds of children much more quickly and effectually than the laboured verses, overloaded with gloss and comment, of Alexander Dolensis[1].'

[1] J. H. Lupton's *Colet*, p. 24.

Holt, who writes in English[1], attempts to introduce descriptive terms for the grammatical moods, namely, the 'shewynge' mode, the 'biddynge' mode, the 'potencyal' mode and the 'subjunctyf' mode. For simplicity and helpfulness to the beginner the book is superior to the Grammars which superseded it.

The Magdalen College School Group of Grammarians[2].

Undoubtedly the school which showed the greatest interest in promulgating new views of Grammar was Magdalen College School at Oxford. John Anwykyll was Informator or Schoolmaster in this school from about 1481 till his death in 1487. His Grammar was called *Compendium totius grammatice* and was issued by T. Rood and T. Hunt at Oxford in 1483. With this was included *Vulgaria quedam abs Terentio in Anglicam linguam traducta*, which was sold also, separately. This latter part consisted of sentences from Terence with English translations[3]. Anwykyll had as usher in his school, John Stanbridge, who succeeded him as Informator in 1488. Stanbridge resigned that post in 1494. In 1501, he was collated to the Mastership of the Hospital of St John at Banbury[4]. John Stanbridge made Banbury celebrated throughout the country by his grammatical works and method of teaching. Accordingly, we find that Manchester Grammar

[1] *Lac Puerorum*, M. Holt. *Mylke for children* 1497, emprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde in Flete Strete at the sygne of the sonne. There was an undated edition of Holt's book published by R. Pynson. Dr Lupton gives reasons for dating this between 1486 and 1496 (*see* his *Life of Colet*, p. 23 *n.*).

[2] The ascertainable facts in the history of this school are contained in Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, Vol. III. William of Waynflete, the Founder of Magdalen College, provided for 30 foundationers called demies, who were admissible at 12 years of age, to be in the College School under the Informator or Master.

[3] *See* Chap. XXIV.

[4] Stanbridge became in 1507 rector of Winwick near Gainsborough, and in 1509, Prebendary of St Botolph's in the Cathedral of Lincoln. He died in 1510.

School[1], Cuckfield Grammar School, and Merchant Taylors' School in 1560 were required by statute to teach grammar after the manner of Banbury School. Stanbridge exhorts, in words recalling Colet[2], 'all lytell children' to impress the Latin words in his *Vulgaria* on their hearts and take good heed and hearken their 'vulger,' i.e. the sentences to turn into Latin.

The following are the grammatical works of John Stanbridge (b. 1463, d. 1510).

Accidentia. Eng. B. L. R. Pynson, Lond. (1520?) B. L. 16 leaves. 1529 Treveris, n. d. John Byddell.

[A catechism in English on the parts of Latin speech. It has at the end a few rules also in English for Latin Composition.]

(*Accidentia*) Eng. B. L. Richarde Pynson, London (1520?). Wynkyn de Worde, London (1520?), 4to.

Accidentia ex Stanbrigiana editione nuper recognita et castigata lima R. Whitintoni Lichfeldiensis in florentissima Oxoniensi academia Laureati. B. L. Wynkyn de Worde, London (1529?), 4to.

Further ed. 1530?

„ „ 1534.

The longe accydence (of J. Stanbridge) *newly correcte.* (1520?), 4to.

Parvulorum Institutio. Seems to be an expansion of the *Accidentia.* 12 leaves B. L. 1520 Wynkyn de Worde. 1529. n. d. R. Pynson. P. Treveris, n. d.

An edition of 1526 has a cut of a schoolmaster and 3 scholars.

[English rules for turning English into Latin.]

Parvulorum institutio ex Stanbrigiana colectione. Eng. B. L. per...Richardum Pynson (London), (1520?), 4to.

[1] Founded 1515. Hugh Oldham required his Master at Manchester 'to teach and instruct children in grammar according to the form of grammar taught in the school of the town of Banbury.'

[2] 'I praye you al lytel babys, al lytel chyldren, lerne gladly this lytel treatyse.'

Another edition with woodcut (1520?).

„ „ Wynkyn de Worde, 1521.

„ „ also 1528.

(*Quatuor partes Grammaticae.*) B. L. R. Pynson, in civitate London, 1505, 4to.

Sum, es, fui, of Stanbridge (otherwise entitled *Gradus comparationum cum verbis anomalis simul et eorum compositis*). Eng. B. L. Richarde Pynson (London, 1515?), 4to.

Sum, es, fui. Pynson (1515?), 4to. 8 leaves (otherwise entitled), Godfray, n. d.

Gradus cōparationū cū verbis anomalis. (1525?), 4to. 8 leaves.

[In English, in forms of question and answer.]

Gradus cōparationū cū verbis anomalis, etc. (By J. S.) (1525?), 4to., also 1531.

Vocabula magistri Stābrigi primū jam edita sua saltē editione. Lat. and Eng. B. L. Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1500, 4to.

[Also 1501, 1507, 1510, 1521, 1525, 1527. Woodcut on part of title-page.]

Vocabula magistri Stābrigii, nuper emendata ac edita. B. L. A. Vele, London (1560?), 4to.

Vocabula Magistri Stābrigii ab infinitis...mendis repurgata, ...studio T. Newtoni, B. L. Excudebat E. A. Impensis.... Clementis Knight, Londini, 1615, 4to.

Vulgaria Stanbrigi. (Being a Latin and English vocabulary.) B. L. Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1508, 1518 and (1528?), 4to.

John Stanbridge was educated at Winchester. Mr Leach suggests that his *Vulgaria* was the origin of the vulgars or material for making 'Latins.' But the *Vulgaria* of Terence were published in 1483—and it is difficult to decide how much farther back the term may have been used. It may be noted here that John Brinsley is associated with Stanbridge from the fact that he revised Stanbridge's *Vocabula*, under the title *Embryon relimatum*[1]. Stanbridge is described as having been

[1] *See* Chap. XXIII.

'happy' in his teaching. Certainly he had some pupils of great importance in the history of Latin teaching in England, viz. Robert Whittinton, William Horman (author of the *Vulgaria*[1]), and William Lily.

ROBERT WHITTINTON.

On laureation he assumed the title of Protovates Angliae, a piece of arrogance which gave offence to other scholars, in comparison with whom, says Fuller, 'He was but as a crackling thorn.' His conflict with Horman and Lily is the subject of one of the earliest of English literary quarrels committed to print (in Horman's *Anti-bossicon* (1521)).

Grammatical works of Robert Whittinton[2].

(*De syllabarum quantitate.*) Roberti Whitintoni Lauricomi Lichfieldiensis *de syllabarum quantitatibus opusculum recognitum*, 1519, 4to. 1521, 1524, 1528, n. d.

(*De Metris.*) (A. H. D.) Wynkyn de Worde. Roberti Whyttyntoni lychfeldiensis editio cum interpretamento Francisci Nigri Diomedes de accentu in pedestri oratione potius quam soluta observando. 4to., August 12, 1513.

This and other editions of it were probably published as Part II to the *De syllabarum quantitate.* 1516? B. M. 22 leaves. 1519, 1521, 1524, 1525, 1528, 1529. Dibdin says of edition of 1519, 'the illustrations are almost entirely taken from Horace. The work is devoted to an analysis of the various kinds of Latin verse, beginning with the rule concerning accent....Then follows the prose annotation....We have the opinion of Aelius Anthonius Nebrissensis, concerning Greek and Hebrew accents, against that of the grammarian Alexander.'

Other editions 1516, 1517, 1519, 1525, 1527, 1529. (A. H. D.) gives a specimen.

[1] *See* Chap. XXIV., Making of Latins.

[2] This list is chiefly founded on Ames, Herbert, Dibdin, referred to above and on pp. 239, 240 as (A.H.D.), *Typographical Antiquities*, and Mr E. Gordon Duff's *Hand List of English Printers*, Wynkyn de Worde 1512–1535.

De Nominum Generibus.

Grammaticis Primae Partis Liber primus Roberti, V. V. L. L. nuperrime recognitus. De Nominum generibus, 1521, 4to. 1522 (16 leaves), 1525, 1526, 1528, 1529, 1533, n.d., 1534.

De declinatione nominum, 4to. 1517, 1518, 1521, 1524, 1527, 1529, 1531, 1533, and two undated editions.

De Heteroclytis Nominibus. 1519, 4to. 1520, 1521 (10 leaves), 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1529, 1533, and two undated editions.

De verborum praeteritis et Supinis. 1521, 4to. 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1529, 1533.

Syntaxis. 1520, 4to. 1524, 1527, 1529, 1533.

(*Syntaxis.*) Roberti Whitintoni Lichfieldiensis protovatis Anglie in florentissimo Oxoniensi academia laureati *opuscula de concinnitate grāmaticis et cōstructione recognitum.* 1512, 1519, 4to. 24 leaves.

[(A. H. D.) At the end of the work instead of the sentences from Seneca and Cicero, as in the *Syntaxis*, this has a dialogue between the author and his book.]

De Constructione (Roberti Whitintoni), 1521, 1524, 4to. Similar book to the *Syntaxis.*

Revised edition of *de concinnitate grammaticis et constructione.*

1521 Id. Mart. & Id. Oct. 1524, 1525.

1527 Prid. Kal. Nov. & Prid. Kal. Mart. 1533.

(*De Synonymis.*) Roberti Whittintoni lichfieldiensis grammaticae magistri protovatis anglie in florentissima Oxoniensi achademia laureati *Lucubrationes.* 1517, 4to. 1519 (29 leaves), 1521, 1523 mensi Augusto, 1525, 1527 mensi Februario, 1529 mensi Martio.

(A. H. D.) give specimens.

Roberti Whittintoni alma in universitate Oxoniensi laureati *de octo partibus Orationis opusculum de novo recognitum.* 1519, 4to. 1521, 1523, 1525, 1527, 1529, 1531, 1533, and two undated editions.

Whittinton. *Stanbrigianis super accidentibus recognitio.*

Antylycon in defensione R. Whittinton.

Ascensius declynsons with the playne expositor, n. d., no place and printer's name. 4to.

Opuscula Roberti Whittintoni in florentissima Oxoniensi Achademia Laureati. 1519.

[(A. H. D.) A small volume of interesting specimens of the scholastic attainments of Whittinton.]

Contains:

1. *A Latin panegyrical poem in hexameter and pentameter verses* to Henry VIII beginning:

> Aurea Saturni redeunt nunc saecula fausta
> Henrici octavi tempore pacifici.

2. *A similar poem to* Card. Wolsey.

3. *A poem to the same* Cardinal, in hexameter verse, *on the difficulty of a just administration of the laws.*

4. *A prose dissertation* addressed to the same in praise of the four cardinal virtues.

5. *Hexameter and pentameter verses to* Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

6. *An elegant set of verses* to Sir Thomas More ending:

> Morum te vocitant quum agendo nil tibi praeceps
> At cum matura cuncta agis ipse mora
> Disceret ut mores orbem peregravit Ulisses
> At Mori Eutopia plus docet ipsa domi.
> Pyramus et Tysbi in morū conversi ob amorem
> Curtureo morus nomen amore capit.

7. *Verses to the poet* Skelton of Louvain[1], Anglorum vatum gloria.

To continue the account of Magdalen College Schoolmasters, John Stanbridge was succeeded by Scarbott in 1494. In the memorial over his grave are the lines:

> Qui Latias lustravit opes, intravit Hebraeas,
> Hinc et Graecorum palma parata fuit.

[1] i.e. laureated at Louvain.

In 1498, Thomas Wolsey (later Cardinal Wolsey) became Head-master, for some months only. He was followed by a number of masters, who do not call for mention. From 1517 to 1522, Thomas Stanbridge was Head-master, and there has been some confusion between him and his predecessor, John Stanbridge. From 1524 to 1534, T. Robertson was Head-master. Though it anticipates the history of Lily's Grammar, Wood's account of Robertson, will show his importance as a grammarian.

Wood says that Robertson was 'an exact grammarian and skilled in humanity and went as it was thought beyond his two predecessors (? John Stanbridge and John Holt) in Magdalen College School in the education of youth. In 1532 he printed a comment on Lily's rules in verse and added Quae genus and the versifying rules dedicating it to Bishop Langland with a reference to Henley School which some think was founded or enlarged by Langland. Through the diversity in teaching Grammar Dr Richard Cox and others were appointed by Henry VIII to bring all into one Body of Grammar, which they did in 1545. This was thought too prolix. John Fox of Magdalen College, Oxford, set forth Tables of Grammar, subscribed in print by eight lords of the Council, which Tables were quickly laid aside, as being far more too short than K. Henry VIII's Grammar was too long. Since which time many learned men in England and far more abroad, have spent much profitable study in this art, and the method thereof as we well know[1].'

Thomas Robertson supplied the following portions of Lily's Grammar:

1. Rules for Heteroclites.
2. Defective Verbs.
3. Annotations on Lily's Rules for Genders of Nouns.

[1] Quoted by Bloxam, 1. p. 84.

4. Annotations on Lily's Rules for Praeterperfect Tenses and Supines of Verbs.

T. Robertson's works were printed at Basle, 1532.

Robertson, it may be mentioned, was one of the Divines who signed the Preface to the Bishops' Book or the Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man in 1537, and was in 1548 nominated as one of those to draw up the Book of Common Prayer—'but liked it not.' In 1557 he became Dean of Durham.

Amongst others connected with Magdalen College School were Richard Sherry, the writer on Rhetoric (1534–1541), and Thomas Cooper, son of a poor tailor of Oxford, pupil of T. Robertson, who became Head-master, 1548. In Queen Mary's reign he practised medicine and in 1570 became Bishop of Lincoln. Cooper published an edition of Elyot's Dictionary, under the title *Bibliotheca Eliotae*[1], in 1548. In Cooper's Head-mastership an attempt was made (1549–50) to stop grammar-teaching at the expense of Magdalen College, but this attempt of Dr Cox was resisted by Cooper, and Magdalen College School continued. Laurence Humfrey was a pupil of the School shortly before Cooper's mastership, and in 1556 he published at Basle the *Cornucopia* of Adrian Junius. Another Magdalen College School name is that of John Harmar, who wrote a *Praxis Grammatica* in 1622, *in usum Schol. Magd. Oxon.*, and made the English translation of the Jesuits *Janua Linguarum* of which the 6th edition was published 1626. Magdalen College School was also prominently connected with the continuous study of Greek, as a school subject[2]. Its record, however, with regard to the issue by its staff and pupils of early Latin Grammars, is apparently unique amongst the English Schools.

[1] *See* Chap. XXIII.

[2] *See* Chap. XXX.

CHAPTER XV.

THE AUTHORISED LATIN GRAMMAR.

The history of Lily's Grammar may be divided into three periods[1]: (1) from its birth in 1509 until the Royal Proclamation of about 1540; (2) from 1540 to the time when the Grammar was appropriated as the Eton Grammar[2]; (3) from then to the present. In the first period, 1509–1540, the Grammar was in process of formation. The earliest form of it known is that of the *Absolutissimus de octo orationis partium constructione libellus*, published in 1515. The next is Colet's *Aeditio* of 1527 (and 1534). Then follows Cardinal Wolsey's edition of 1529. There is a considerable gap, until we reach 1540, when the *Institutio compendiaria*[3] was published, and in 1542 followed the King's edition. The title by which the book is best known is the *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices*. It is not certain when this was first issued, but it was in existence by 1574[4].

By the year of King Henry VIII's Proclamation, 1540 authorising the Grammar as the only Grammar to be used in schools, there had been printed in England a large number of Latin Grammars, which have been mentioned in the last chapter. But in addition to these, there were current others such as those of John Barclay (1516) the Scotchman and even an English edition had been published of a work of Despauterius. No doubt there were a number of old MSS.

[1] In *Notes and Queries*, VI Series, II. pp. 441–2 and pp. 461 2. (Dr Lupton.)

[2] This was in the year 1758.

[3] Compare the title of Anwykyll's Grammar, p. 235.

[4] So Dr Lupton tells us.

mediaeval Grammars, and schoolmasters still relied upon oral, traditional, 'uses' of grammar, communicated by word of mouth. Here, too, must be mentioned the fact that Grammars, for English pupils, printed abroad, were sold in England. There were also the foreign Latin Grammars imported into England. Thus Thomas Hunte, an Oxford stationer, made an inventory of the books which he had received from booksellers at Aix-la-Chapelle for sale. Amongst them are the Grammar of Perottus, and a Grammar which has not been identified[1]. Mr Gordon Duff[2] has shown how extensive was the foreign trade of the stationers of London. The distributing agencies throughout the country were not only country stationers but also the local Fairs, of which Stourbridge was the chief. English booksellers frequented Leipzig and Frankfort Fairs, and brought foreign works over to their English customers. The presence in old English College and School and private libraries of foreign grammar and other school books is thus made intelligible. Mr Madan[3] says of the list of books sold by John Dorne the Oxford bookseller (1520) in their connexion with University studies: 'the first striking fact is the number of grammatical works sold, chiefly written by John Stanbridge and Robert Whittinton.'

In short, there was a plethora of Grammars, most of them fragmentary, all of them inadequate; yet the schools seemed to need a text-book more than ever, in the new impulse of the Renascence.

The old Donatus, simple and intelligible, with its thousand years of authority was gone, and in its place was a confusing array of divergent innovators. Then Thomas Linacre wrote his grammatical work called *Thomae Linacri Britanni de Emendata structura Latini Sermonis Libri Sex* (1524), and this seemed to the learned to represent the standard of classical scholarship

[1] Oxford Historical Society, *Collectanea*, Series I. p. 143.
[2] Lecture VII of *Westminster and London Printers.*
[3] *Collectanea*, Series I, p. 75.

which would justify its elevation into the position of the standard, recognised authority.

Linacre gives an exposition of the eight parts of speech. Its interest is great on the side of illustration. Thus on the imperative mood, Linacre remarks: 'we can say, *Scribe nunc* or *cras*, but never in the past.' Apt examples are quoted under each head from Plautus, Terence, Ovid and other classical writers, and of course from Cicero. From the parts of speech, Linacre proceeds to Enallage, and then to constructions of parts of speech. The sixth book is then devoted to the construction of grammatical 'figures.' The last chapter of the book is particularly interesting, for it is concerned with Hellenismos. Latin constructions founded upon the Greek are noted and Latin quotations are succeeded by Greek analogies from Isocrates, Thucydides, Lucian, Plutarch, Theocritus, Aristophanes, Plato, Demosthenes, and from Homer. A passage from Homer of eight lines brings about a crisis for the printer, and Linacre has to call for indulgence on the ground of the compositor's lack of skill and type. Nothing could more graphically show the limitations to a knowledge of Greek in England in 1524. Even the shorter Grammar in Latin and English of Linacre, viz. his *Progymnasmata Grammatices vulgaria*[1] (London: Rastell, 1525?) did not impress the schoolmasters. Probably, the influence of Colet and Lily had weight in determining that for school-teaching, a text-book devised for that purpose, under the direction of a man like Lily who was at once a scholar and a schoolmaster, was alone likely to command sufficient support, to justify it, as the English successor to the time-honoured, European Donatus. At any rate Linacre's work was regarded as too learned to take the place of a school text-book. The evolution of Lily's Grammar which had the distinction of becoming the authorised

[1] Two undated editions were published by Pynson of Linacre's Grammar and bore the title: *Rudimenta grammatices. T. Linacri diligenter castigata denuo.*

Grammar was essentially English. It came piecemeal. One man wrote one part, another another and so on, and these were fitted in by a commission of 'sundry learned men.' It is difficult even to retrace the authorship of its different parts. Still, so urgent was the feeling of the 'hurt' done to the commonwealth of learning by diversity of Grammars, that for a time, Lily's Grammar was hailed as a practical solution, though not without protests.

To proceed to its origin: Colet's *Aeditio* contains his views on grammar, in an address which he makes to the reader at the end of the Introduction to the Accidence. No better statement of the Renascence idea of grammar-teaching at its best could be given. The text of the Accidence is short, as was that of the old Donatus. It was only in later days that the Latin Grammar for children became so long and tedious.

Colet's views are as follows[1]:

'Let the pupil above all busily learn and read good Latin authors of chosen poets and orators, and note wisely how they wrote and spoke, and study alway to follow them; desiring none other rules but their examples. For in the beginning men spoke not Latin because such rules were made but contrariwise because men spoke such Latin upon that followed the rules and (so) were made. That is to say Latin speech was before the rules, not the rules before the Latin speech.'

So, too, Colet excellently lays down the method of teaching:

'Be to them your own selves also speaking with them the pure Latin very present[2], and leave the rules. For reading of good books, diligent information of taught masters, studious advertence and taking heed of learners, hearing eloquent men speak, and finally, busy imitation with tongue and pen, more availeth shortly to get the true eloquent speech, than all the traditions, rules and precepts of masters.'

[1] Spelling modernised.

[2] Lupton's note 'i.e. be very present to them. Cf. Psalm xlvi. 1 "a very present help in trouble".'

One remark only need be made on this sound advice. Colet expected his masters and his pupils to aim at speaking Latin as intently as writing it.

Colet's *Aeditio* was first printed in 1527[1]. Extracts from the Accidence portion of this reprinted by Dr Lupton in his *Life of Colet*.

There are included Simbolum apostolorum, Oratio Dominica, and Salvatio angelica—which follow Precepts of living and prayers.

In the 1534 edition of Colet's *Aeditio*, after the Introduction to the Accidence, there follows Lily's Syntax in English (*Lilii Angli Rudimenta*). The question has been raised as to whether Lily or Erasmus wrote the Syntax. The answer is explicitly given by Erasmus that Lily wrote it, whilst Erasmus revised it[2].

The beginning of the Syntax is:

¶ To make latyn.

When I haue an englysshe to be tourned in to latyn, I shall reherce it twyse or thryse, and loke out the verbe.

¶ The verbe.

¶ I may knowe the verbe by any of these wordes do, dyd, haue, had, wyll, shall, wolde, sholde, may, myght, am, arte, is, be, was, were, can, coulde, it, or must, whiche stande eyther as signes before the verbe, or els they be verbes them selfe. I call them verbes comenly whan a nowne or pro nowne foloweth after them.

¶ If there come none of these sygnes in the reason, the worde that answereth to this questyon, what do I, thou, or he; what dyd I, thou, or he, &c. shall be the verbe.

[1] There is notice of two grammars of Lily issued in 1539 for the use of St Paul's School published by Pepwell (*Westminster and London Printers*, p. 149).

[2] *See* Erasmus's letter in Lily's *Absolutissimus de octo orationis partium constructione libellus*, p. 249.

(After the Syntax):

Carmen Guillelmi Lilii,
ad discipulos, de moribus[1].

Colet's Latin Grammar had however appeared in an earlier form than the edition of 1534. In 1513 had been written and in 1515 issued (*Argentorati in Officina Schureriana*, and *Basiliae*, both dated 1515)[2].

Absolutissimus de octo ora|tionis partium Constructi|one libellus, nec minus eruditione pueris utilis | futurus, & compēdio | et perspicuitate com modus ac jucūdus, | nuperrime vigilā|tissima cura re|cognitus.

This short treatise of 21 leaves is important in the study of origins. It also contains two letters, which are of high interest in the history of Lily's Grammar. The first of these, written in Latin, is from John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, to William Lily, first Head-master of St Paul's School. It is dated 1513. In English, it runs:

Methinks, my dear Lily, I bear the same affection to my new school, as a parent to his only son; to whom he is not only willing to pass over his whole estate, but is desirous to impart his own bowels also: and as the father thinks it to little purpose to have begotten a son, unless by diligent education he raises him up into a good and useful man; so to my own mind it is by no means sufficient that I have raised up this school, and have conveyed my whole estate to it, (even during my own life and health), unless I likewise take all possible care to nurture it in good letters and Christian manners, and bring it on to some useful maturity and perfection. For this reason, master, I send you this small treatise of the Construction of the eight parts of speech (*de constructione octo partium orationis*); small indeed in itself, but such as will afford no

[1] See chapter on Teaching of Morals, p. 107.

[2] Thus Mr Gordon Duff in his *Westminster and London Printers* (p. 125) mentions a fragment of two leaves of what is apparently the above book or an 'unknown early Cambridge book.'

small advantage to our scholars, if you will diligently teach and explain it. You know Horace was pleased with brevity in the way of teaching; and I very much approve of his opinion in that matter. If in the reading of the classic authors any notable examples to these rules shall offer themselves it will be your part to mark them as they shall occur. Farewell. From my house. 1513.

Dr Knight, in his *Life of Colet* suggests that Colet obtained from Lily his emendations and then wishing to advance the book, if possible, 'to a greater perfection,' he sent it to 'the best critic in Europe,'—Erasmus.

The second letter in the *Absolutissimus*, however, gives Erasmus's account of the whole matter. Translated it reads thus:

At Colet's command, this book was written by William Lily, a man of no ordinary skill, a wonderful craftsman in the instruction of boys. When he had completed his work, it was handed over to, nay rather thrust upon, me for emendation. What was I to do when the man would not make an end of asking? For he was such a friend that I should think it wrong to deny him any service he might beg of me. Did not a man of such standing deserve of me that by right he should command anything of Erasmus? Accordingly I emended the book by changing many things (for I saw that this was easier for me to do). So that Lily (endowed as he is with too much modesty) did not permit the book to appear with his name, and I (with my sense of candour) did not feel justified that the book should bear my name when it was the work of another. Since both of us refused our names it was published ἀνώνυμος, Colet merely commending it in a preface....But it seemed good to make these remarks lest afterwards anyone should ascribe to me what I do not claim. There are so many faults to account for in what I have published that no one else ought to print as mine either what I have not written,

or have not even corrected. Farewell, dear reader. Basel. III. Cal. Aug. 1515.

It is not clear, at first sight, that the two letters can be reconciled. Colet's letter implies that he himself wrote the Grammar. Erasmus ascribes the original form of the Grammar to Lily. The explanation seems to be that Colet wrote the draft, and sent it to Lily. Lily made emendations. Amongst these emendations, he probably supplied the Syntax, which is explicitly stated to be his. Erasmus received the draft emended by Lily, and knowing that a portion of it was Lily's, concluded that the whole of it was by him.

The next form of Colet's Grammar was introduced to the world by Cardinal Wolsey, in 1529, printed by Peter Treveris in a small book of 34 leaves. Wolsey was a staunch friend of the new educational movement. He was educated at Ipswich Grammar School, and at Magdalen College, Oxford, of which College in due course he became Fellow. In 1498 he was for a short time Head-master (Informator) of Magdalen College School. He appropriated money from the Priory of St Peter's in Ipswich (surrendered to him March 1527–8), for the founding of a school at Ipswich which should lead pupils (in the approved fashion of Winchester College and New College or Eton and King's College) to a new College at Oxford to be called Cardinal College. This was the origin of the great foundation at Oxford, now known as Christ Church. Wolsey brought J. L. Vives, the great Spaniard, to lecture on Rhetoric at Oxford. 'Wolsey meant, undoubtedly,' says Creighton, 'to reorganise University education.' School education, too, he clearly had in mind, and the Grammar about to be described, was intended not only for Ipswich, and its masters, but as a model for the organised education of 'British youth.' This Grammar which is founded on Colet's is entitled:

Rudimenta Grammatices et Docendi methodus, non tam scholae Gypsuichianae per reverendissimum D. Thomã Cardinalẽ

Ebor. feliciter institutae, q̄ ōibus aliis totius Anglię scholis praescripta. 1528 (date of Preface).
(Cardinal's arms imprinted beneath title.)

There is a Preface: Thomas, Cardinal of York, etc. to the Master of Ipswich School, Greeting; in which Wolsey says:

'It seemed but little to have built a school, however magnificent, unless it should be equipped with the skill of masters. We have taken pains to place over it you two masters, men chosen out and approved, under whom British youth, from their earliest years, might imbibe morals and literature, knowing full well that hope for the commonwealth must rest upon that age, even as the corn from the seed. That this might come about more easily and happily we have provided with all care, zeal, and diligence, that you should have little books on the instruction of boys, on the method and theory of teaching principally necessary for such youth.'

The contents of Wolsey's Grammar printed by P. Treveris (1529) are as follows:

¶ Quo ordine pueri in nostrū gymnasium admissi docendi sint, quique authores quidem praelegendi.

¶ The mayster shall reherse these articles to them that offer theyr children on this wyse here following:

Next,

Articles of the Faith—Creed.

The Seven Sacraments and

Charity, Penance, Houseling, in sickness and death.

Colet's Precepts of Living. Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer and Salvatio Angelica (the three latter in Latin).

Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesum Scholae praesidem (in Latin).

Jo Colet suo Lilio, salutem (in Latin), date given 1509.

¶ A lytell proheme to the boke (Colet's). So, too, taken from Colet is the Accidence.

From an Introduction of the partes of spekyng for chyldren and yonge begynners in to latyn speche.

Down to ¶ Explicit Colet editio.

G. Lilii Angli Rudimenta (Syntax).

The Qui mihi Discipulus of W. Lily.

At the end of the Qui mihi discipulus in both Colet and Wolsey's editions are a number of verses by John Ritwise, Richardus Vernamus (Paulinę Scholae Alumnus) and Richardus Gunsonus.

The Latin Grammar.

Edition of 1542 (British Museum copy, on vellum) begins with:

Alphabetum Latino-Anglicum, in eight different types.

Prayers: The Lord's Prayer, Salutatio and The Apostles' Creed in Latin and English. The Ten Commandments, the Two Commandments of Christ, followed by Prayers. It is entitled:

An Introduction of the eyght partes of speche, and the Construction of the same, compiled and sette forthe by the commaundement of our most gracious soverayne lorde the king. Anno 1542.

This is the earliest edition of Lily's Grammar which I have seen, containing the King's Proclamation.

The adoption of the Grammar as the authorised Latin Grammar, is parallel to the authorization of a particular rendering of the Scriptures. It is a cardinal point, about which centre the disputes of the progressive grammarians, as against the reactionary and conservative party which held closely to Lily. The Proclamation and Address to the Reader may therefore be regarded as official documents which for good and evil bound down the recognised teaching of Latin for generations.

In the Proclamation the King says:

'And to the intent that hereafter they may the more readily and easily attain the rudiments of the Latin tongue, without the great hindrance, which heretofore hath been, through the diversity of grammars and teachings: we will and command, and straightly charge all you schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this our realm, and other our

dominions, as ye intend to avoid our displeasure, and have our favor, to teach and learn your scholars this English introduction, here ensuing, and the Latin Grammar annexed to the same, and none other, which we have caused for your ease and your scholars' speedy preferment briefly and plainly to be compiled and set forth.'

Although the authorised Latin Grammar was ordinarily called Lily's Grammar, it is really a compilation. Thomas Hayne, a master at Merchant Taylors' School (1605–8) and at Christ's Hospital later, wrote a Grammar which is called *Grammatices Latinae Compendium*, in 1637. In his address to the Judicious Reader he gives an account of the composite authorship of Lily's Grammar, as follows:

'Courteous Reader, in brief consider, what since the time of Henry 7, hath been the singular care of Royal Authority and of worthy learned men, to lay a solid foundation for all kind of Learning by producing a right Grammar institution. For though before his time a great part of our English[1] men had little leisure and less care of good Arts; yet when the Houses of York and Lancaster were united, by the happy[2] counsel of John Morton[3], Bishop of Ely, and times became more peaceable, John Holt[4] printed and dedicated a brief Grammar called *Lac puerorum* to the same John Morton then deservedly installed Archbishop of Canterbury. About this time also John Stanbridge[5] and Robert Whittington his scholar, and others put forth divers Treatises of Grammar. But more especially Dr Colet[6] the Reverend and learned Dean of Paul's compiled the *Introduction to the Eight Parts of Speech*; and Mr Lilie first Schoolmaster of Paul's, an *English Syntax*.

[1] So of the German Princes and People. Erasmus, *Epist.*, p. 989.

[2] Hollinsh. Stowe.

[3] A man of singular learning, wisdom, and fidelity.

[4] About the year 1497.

[5] About the year 1505.

[6] Anno 1509. A man studious to advance learning and a great benefactor thereunto.

Whereunto Cardinal Wolsey[1] afterward prefixed an Epistle and directions for teaching the 8 classes or forms in Ipswich School. Erasmus also[2] intreated by Dr Colet to revise Mr Lilie's *Syntax*, made[3] a new *Latin Syntax*, upon which Henry Prime[4], Schoolmaster of the Monastery, and Leonard Cox[5], of Carleon in Wales, commented. Also Thomas Linaker[6] and Ludov. Vives wrote *Rudimenta Grammaticæ* for Queen Mary's use; and Linaker his book *De Emendata Scriptura*, *&c.*, which hath ever since been the Cynosura for many of our best Grammarians. Mr Lilie wrote also (*Propria quæ maribus*), and (*As in præsenti*): which Mr Ritwise[7] one of his successors published *cum vocabulorum interpretatione.* Thomas Robertson a schoolmaster in Oxford printed[8] a Comment on the Rules, which Lilie wrote in verse: and added thereunto (*Quæ genus*) and the *Versifying Rules.* From the variety of pains in Grammar sprang a great diversity in the course of teaching: which K. Henry 8, intending[9] to reform, caused sundry learned men (among whom, as I have heard, was Dr Richard Cox[10], Tutor to K. Edward the Sixth) to reduce the former attempts in this kind into one body of Grammar. They jointly[11] produced the Grammar now in use, and first authorised by K. Henry the Eighth. Yet it may seem that this Grammar was thought too prolix; for afterward in K. Edward the 6, his time Mr John Fox[12] set forth Tables of Grammar, subscribed in print by 8 Lords of the Privy

[1] Anno 1528. [2] Erasmus his Preface.

[3] Anno 1513. [4] Anno 1539.

[5] Anno 1540. He taught the tongues in Polon., Hung., Germany.

[6] About the year 1522, at Q. Katherine's request.

[7] Anno 1535, if not before.

[8] Anno 1532. This is dedicated to John Longland [i.e. Langland], Bishop of Lincoln. *See* p. 241.

[9] Preface to the Grammar, Anno 1546.

[10] A worthy learned man sometimes Schoolmaster of Eton: after that Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Ely.

[11] Anno 1545. [12] Anno 1551.

Council. But these Tables were quickly laid aside, as being far more too short, than King Henry's Grammar was too long. Since then many learned men in England, far more abroad, have spent much profitable study on this Art, and the Method thereof.'

Though the edition of 1542 described above is the first known authoritative edition, the definitive form of Lily's Grammar, under its best known title, was issued about 1574. This was:

A Shorte Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used; compyled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intende to attayne the knowledge of the Latin tongue. (Brevissima Institutio etc.) 2 pts. 1577, 4to.

Also editions in British Museum, 1599–1602, 1607, 1621, 1630, 1640.

The edition of 1574 was printed by Francis Flower (a gentleman not of the Stationers' Company) to whom was granted for life the 'privilege' for printing the Grammar, Dec. 15, 1573. On December 25th, 1574, this patent was assigned to six partners 'who paid Flower £100 ("a sum," remarks Arber, "equivalent to £1000 now") a year as rent for the same.' The Grammar, therefore, was a valuable property. It is not easy to furnish estimates as to the circulation of Lily's Grammar, but there are indications that it was extensive, to be derived from the *Registers of the Stationers' Company*. The number of copies constituting an 'edition' of any ordinary book in Queen Elizabeth's reign was 1250. If a first edition of a book found 1250 purchasers, the printer had to re-set type, for a second edition. Double impressions from the same type were allowed in the case of primers and catechisms and some other books. But for the Grammar and Accidence *four double impressions of* 2500 *copies*, i.e. 10,000 copies, were allowed to be printed annually. 'In 1587 the Stationers' Company required that if further impressions were needed in any one

year they should consist of 1250 copies only.' Such a regulation shows the contemplation of the possibility at least of an enormous circulation, when the population of the country at that period is taken into account. The restriction of the number of copies of an edition was due to the activity of the trade-union of the printers, who were determined that sufficient re-setting of the type should afford employment to all their members. We are thus enabled to gauge, to some slight extent, the production of copies of books. Mr Arber[1] states: 'All these high numbers had reference to school books then the most lucrative of publishing properties, and now the *rarest books extant*, so completely have they been thrashed out of existence.'

Further signs of the value of the property in Lily's Grammar are afforded by the attempts to infringe the sole rights of the patentees. For instance, the Star Chamber Court commanded the Wardens of the Company to seize the presses of one, Roger Ward, for printing Grammars, Catechisms, Primers and other books. This was in 1565.

On April 6, 1597, the reversion of Flower's patent was granted, for life, to John Battersby, but on the accession of King James I the printing of Grammars came into the hands of John Norton. Then, apparently, the patent fell to Bonham Norton, and seems to have become the hereditary property of the Norton family. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the authorised Grammar was constantly pirated and published from time to time with no publisher's name as 'sold by all the booksellers in Town and Country.' So important was the Grammar that privileges were extended away from the patentee to, at any rate, the University Presses. Indeed, the early Cambridge Press of J. Siberch published the *de octo orationis partium constructione libellus*. The date is unnamed, but it is conjectured to be 1522. Lily's Grammar, in its later form (A Short Introduction etc.), was published by the University Press at Cambridge in 1634, and again in 1640. It is, however, to be stated that

[1] *Register of Stationers' Company*, II. p. 23.

both Cambridge[1] and Oxford[2] published other Grammars as well as the authorised Lily. In 1636 Oxford University for the first time published its edition of Lily.

In 1641, a remarkable tract was published called *Scintilla* or a *Light broken into darke Work houses*[3]. This booklet attacked seven patents regarding books. The object of the writer is to show how monopolies raise prices to an excessive amount. With regard to Lily's Grammar he says:

'And here have they ingrossed the School Books Patent Grammar of Oxford and Cambridge sold at 5*d.* a book: but these Monopolists buy in and sell them and theirs at 8*d.* a book q̃s (i.e. quires) which in a yearly impression of 20000 is raised 250li.'

Keenly as this critic recognised the disadvantage of a patent limiting the publication to patentees of Lily's Grammar, he does not appear to have advocated an open market for all writers of Grammars. Lily's was the 'authorised' Grammar, protected by the Royal favour and authority against all other Grammars. All this critic desired was that it should be open to printers, other than the patentees, to share in the large profits to be derived from the production of a book with such a large circulation. The general question of monopolies had exercised the nation in the times of Queen Elizabeth and James I. Monopolies were granted by patent to companies and private persons to sell a particular class of goods by retail.

The monopoly in the case of each of the grants raised the price of the commodity concerned, glass, soap, gold thread, etc. The war against monopolies in goods had been made, and not unsuccessfully. The attack on the monopoly in printing Lily's Grammar was not to be won so easily. The

[1] e.g. the Latin Grammar (in English) of P. Ramus in 1585, and J. Carmichael's *Latina Grammatica*, 1587.

[2] e.g. *Grounds of Grammer Penned and Published by John Bird Schoolmaster in the City of Glocester*, 1639 and 1641.

[3] Reprinted by Arber, IV. p. 35.

patent remained in the hands of the Norton family[1]. And long after the logic of facts pointed to the existence of innumerable other Grammars, technically Lily's Grammar remained the only Grammar recognised by English sovereigns, to be read in Grammar Schools.

The Injunction of King Edward VI of December 2nd, 1547, which required the continuance of the Primer sanctioned by King Henry VIII, and the saying of graces to be in English, also enjoined 'that none other Grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the King's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.' In Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions to the Clergy and Laity in 1559, it was enjoined that 'every schoolmaster and teacher shall teach the Grammar set forth by King Henry VIII of noble memory, and continued in the time of King Edward VI and none other.' The Canons Ecclesiastical of 1571 endorsed the Injunctions of King Edward VI as to the Grammar. And Article 79 of the latest Canons Ecclesiastical (1604) establishes the authorisation of Lily's Grammar (it is to be presumed) down to our own days.

The position of the Grammar, as far as ecclesiastical control was concerned, was not lost sight of, as the following extracts will show:

In the Articles of the Visitation of Archbishop Cranmer in 1548 is the inquiry: 'Whether there be any other grammar taught in any school within this diocese than that which is set forth by the King's (Edward VI) Majesty?'

Amongst the Articles of Inquiry at every Visitation in 1559 Art. XXX is: 'Whether there be any other grammar taught in any school within this diocese, than that which is set forth by the authority of King Henry VIII?'

(John Ward's Preface to Lily's Grammar, 1732.)

Archbishop Parker's Visitation—Articles to be inquired of within the diocese of Canterbury, 1569: 'Whether your school-

[1] Till it was purchased from the Norton family by S. Buckley and T. Longman in the 18th century.

masters be of a sincere religion and be diligent in teaching and bringing up of youth. Whether they teach any other grammar than such as is appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunction annexed to the same or not.'

(Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, p. 326.)

Grindall's Visitation Articles in 1576 made similar inquiries with regard to Grammar Schools[1].

Article from Bishop Juxon's Visitation, 1640: 'Doth he teach them any other grammar than that which was set forth by K. Henry VIII and hath since continued?'

(John Ward's Preface to Lily's Grammar, 1732.)

After the Restoration the forces of revolt against Lily's Grammar had gathered strength to make themselves felt and it is recorded that 'in 1664 Convocation of Canterbury fell upon a matter of ecclesiastical Cognizance the better government of grammar schools; several complaints had been made of the faults and defects of Lily's Grammar, the use of which had been prescribed by the Royal Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and therefore it was thought proper that a new public form of Grammar should be now drawn up and approved in Convocation, to be enjoined by the same Royal Authority....On May 4, such a form of Grammar was brought in by Dr John Pearson, and the revival of it was recommended to a Committee of both Houses. But this matter dropped as a dubious and difficult task[2].'

Another attempt was made to upset the official authority of Lily's Grammar in 1675. In this year, a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords to dethrone Lily's Grammar. It was read a first time and then dropped. As if to make amends for all attacks upon it, in 1758 Lily's Grammar was 'transformed and appropriated' by Eton College and became known as the Eton Latin Grammar[3]. This recognition continued until the Head-mastership of Dr Hornby (1868).

[1] Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, I. p. 364.

[2] Kennet's *History of England*, III. p. 254.

[3] Lupton, *Notes and Queries*, *see* supra.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EMENDATIONS OF LILY'S GRAMMAR.

The absolute authority of Priscian in grammar[1] in the Middle Ages made the way easy for an authoritative Grammar under the Tudors. After the introduction of printing, there was no way of asserting the Royal Supremacy more effectively than by the issue of authoritative books for public and private use. Hence, the Book of Common Prayer whilst it represented the general attitude of the people, was also the sign of the King's supremacy. It is interesting to note, however, that the authorised Royal Grammar of Lily in 1540, preceded the Book of Common Prayer, 1549 (and 1552). The reason given for the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer in the Preface, is substantially that for the authorised Grammar. It is as follows:

'And where heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York and some of Lincoln; Now from henceforth, all the whole realm shall have but one use.'

In Chapter XIV.[2] it was shown that similarly there was a great diversity of Grammars in the country, and the necessity was felt of the organisation of schools by means of a uniformity of the Grammar-book used. This at the same time gave Royal control, in its most arbitrary form, and in the main, was

[1] Priscian's Grammar survived after the Middle Ages. In Laud's Statutes for the University of Oxford (1636), Priscian and Linacre are the only grammarians mentioned by name. But in this matter, the Universities were more conservative than the schools.

[2] *See* p. 232.

opposed to the Renascence spirit of enquiry. It was Mediaeval in essence, for it merely substituted Lily for Donatus and Priscian, but by Royal Authority. In Tudor times, the authority that controlled grammar-teaching was 'from without' the teachers. Moreover, the stereotyping of grammar-instruction, not only involved the subject-matter of Lily's Grammar as the course required of the scholar; it also tended to perpetuate the Mediaeval notion that grammar was a study, separated from the reading of authors, in a sense, independent of them. In this respect the authorised Grammar helped to determine the method of teaching Latin. It tended to discourage, if not to render impracticable, the method of teaching the Latin grammar concurrently with the reading of authors.

It is around this question in its simplest form, Grammar versus classical authors, that the fiercest disputes of the 16th and 17th centuries, in connexion with Lily's Grammar, took place. The old Donatus was simplicity itself compared with Lily. With the increase of knowledge of the Renascence, the boy of the post-Renascence times compared with the Mediaeval boy had to undergo a martyrdom of despotism. The exercise of memory necessary to the Mediaeval lack of printed books, was intensified in Renascence instruction, because the Grammar had become much more comprehensive in scope. The English post-Renascence boy had to stop any impulse to reason, and to simply get the Grammar known by heart, as a preliminary to higher work. This was the tendency of the authorised Grammar; as we shall see, enlightened teachers, from time to time, rose superior to any thraldom to Lily, but the definiteness of mechanical methods always secures a large *clientèle* from the less-qualified teachers, and attracts a strong conservative element, who resist, to the uttermost, the reforming innovator. The width of view of the function of grammar in the early Renascence gave to the subject that high recognition, which made Grammar dispute the ascendancy with Logic. Thus Aeneas Sylvius, 1450, includes in grammar, conversation

and oratory, composition in prose and verse, and the writing of epistles, and Perottus (1473) describes grammar as 'the art of speaking and writing correctly, as founded on observations in the reading of writers and poets.' The glory thus surrounding the idea of grammar permeated the learned world—and the grammarians who narrowed themselves to the acceptance of an authorised Grammar such as that of Lily, readily appropriated the prestige of the name given by the early Renascence writers to the wider conception of the subject, although the later grammarian had come to regard his function in the narrow limitation of the knowledge of a text-book from which rules were to be learned, however meagre the child's experience in the reading of authors.

J. L. Vives wrote, in 1523, for an English boy, Charles Mountjoy, his *De Ratione Studii Puerilis*. In this treatise, he describes his views on the teaching of grammar. He says:

'In all the authors you read notice how the grammatical forms are preserved and where they are neglected. For in many of them the use of them is varied and multiform, and cannot be enclosed within the norms and rules. Now that which is constituted by actual use must be followed rather than the grammatical art, and not contrariwise. Yet that art, on this account, is not to be despised. Only do not follow it so closely as to be strangled by it (*ne sit superstitiose anxie*).'

In 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Gouvernour*, speaks with less exigency than Vives as to the place of grammar-teaching, and pleads for a *minimum* of it, in teaching the child. 'Grammar,' he says, 'being but an introduction[1] to the understanding of autors, if it be made to(o) longe or exquisite to the lerner, (h)it in a maner mortifieth his corage: And by that time he cometh to the most swete and pleasant redinge of olde

[1] Yet Elyot recognises the important development that had taken place in grammar: 'And as touching grammar, there are at this day better introductions, and more facile than ever before were made, concerning as well Greek as Latin, if they be wisely chosen' (Elyot, *Gouvernour*, Crofts' ed., I. p. 33).

autours, the sparkes of fervent desire of lernynge is extincte with the burdone of grammer, lyke as a lyttel fyre is sone quenched with a great heape of small stickes: so that it can never come to the principall logges where it should longe bourne in a great pleasaunt fire.' Elyot therefore advises only a 'few and quick rules of grammar' and these 'interlaced' with reading.

Sir Thomas Elyot's views were written for the young *Gouvernour*. Throughout the period up to the Restoration, the question was debated whether it was better for the young noble to be taught privately or in a public school. One of the differences of method in the education privately and in the public school was apparently the relative position of grammar teaching. Nearly forty years after Elyot's *Gouvernour* appeared Ascham's *Scholemaster*, in which it is urged that 'after the three Concordances learned,' the master should read with the pupil the epistles of Cicero, in Sturm's edition, arranged 'for the capacitie of children.' The plan of translation into a paper-book, and re-translation later into another paper-book, and the use of a third paper-book for the collection of phrases, constructions and other grammatical notes in the course of reading, are the distinguishing features[1] of the method Ascham suggests. Concurrently, the master is to lead his pupil to join the rules of his Grammar-book 'with the examples of his present lesson.' The Grammar-book is to be constantly used, but as a book of reference, like a dictionary. 'The common way,' says Ascham, 'used in common schools, to read the Grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the Master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.'

It is often supposed that Ascham's *Scholemaster* was written

[1] The idea of the paper-book is not original to Ascham. For instance, Vives says: 'The boy should have a fairly large paper-book (*codex*) in which to write down fully the maxims of his master as well as what he has read for himself in the great writers, or any sayings which he has observed others use.' *De Tradendis Disciplinis* (1523), Bk. III. cap. 3.

for the use of the Grammar or public schools. But Ascham explicitly states that the book is 'specially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in Gentlemen and Noblemen's houses.' It is, therefore, essentially a protest against the common school usage of grammar-teaching and a plea for the better way of learning grammar along with the study of authors. There was freedom of method, for the private teachers of noblemen's houses. It is significant that in suggesting a better method than the one in common use, Ascham instinctively turns away from the organised authoritative school instruction, and the authorised Latin Grammar, which he never names. The divergence of the methods advocated by Elyot and Ascham from the school-system of teaching grammar, needs explanation. The fact seems to be that the education of the nobles was mainly outside of the Grammar School and the University. Accordingly, there was not the differentiation into divisions of grammar and higher subjects, which tended to take place in the education of those who entered into the Grammar School, whose function tended to become mainly, the teaching of grammar first and foremost, as a preparation for the higher subjects of the University. It is a curious fact that Lily's Grammar appeared as the King's Grammar in 1542, the very year in which the last Mastership in Grammar was conferred by the University of Cambridge. Peacock[1] points out how the Universities in the time of Elizabeth (1559) expected all students to be able to speak Latin and to be acquainted with Latin Grammar before entering the University. Later on in her reign it was forbidden to teach Latin Grammar in any College in Cambridge except to the choristers of King's College and Trinity College. The grammar school of Jesus College was the last to remain in Cambridge, and it, finally, was absorbed into the general College buildings—and for the future, by statute, Universities were no longer to do Grammar School work. The explanation of this change is

[1] *Observations*, p. xxx.

twofold. It is, firstly, that the Universities had the responsibility of dealing with a much larger store of higher knowledge constantly accumulating through the Revival of Learning, and marvellously made accessible through the invention of printing whilst secondly, the schools had similarly received a strong and rich impulse, and had become more competent to deal with the grammar work previously done in the University itself. The imposition of a standard Grammar by Royal Authority is somewhat analogous to the imposition of authoritative dogma by the Church. In the first instance, the book of dogma is more or less accepted as a solution of a pressing difficulty. But as time goes on, and the progress of events brings about a new environment, the old authorised book or dogma, no longer represents the actual state of knowledge. Then, either a revolt takes place, or an attempt is made to retain the traditional document by means of interpretation, in accordance with the new needs. Lily's Grammar went through these various stages of treatment.

In tracing the history of Lily's Grammar, it is necessary to name a number of the typical writings, which are concerned with the authorised Grammar in the way of modification, elucidation, and criticism. These divide themselves into:

I. Translations of the Latin parts of Lily.

II. Elucidation of Lily, either in connection with the subject-matter or with the method of teaching the authorised Grammar.

III. Praxes on Lily.

IV. Supplementary Teaching to Lily's Grammar.

I. Translation of Latin parts of Lily into English.

John Brinsley[1] in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612) boldly advocated that the Rules in Lily's Grammar should be

[1] *See* Chapter XVIII. on the Practice of Grammar Teaching.

construed into English for the boys. The first of these translations was:

The Treatise of the Figures At the end of the Rules of Construction in the Latin Grammar, Construed with every Example applyed and fitted to his Rule, for the help of the weaker sort in the Grammar Schools. By John Stockwood sometime Schoolmaster of Tunbridg, 1609. (*The only edition in the Brit. Mus. of this book is* 1686.)

The title contains a sufficient description of this booklet.

Then Barnaby Hampton translated the Prosody. In 1642 Wm Haine gave *Lillies Rules Construed.* These are usually found bound up with copies of Lily's Grammar after this date.

1657. Edmund Reeve.

The Rules of the Latine Grammar construed. Which were omitted in the book called Lillies Rules, and the Syntaxis construed.

Thus, eventually, boys were provided with a complete translation of Lily's Grammar.

II. Elucidations of Lily's Grammar or parts of it.

In 1590, John Stockwood published a book for this purpose. He had been Head-master of Tonbridge School from 1578 to 1585. He then became Vicar of Tonbridge but did not cease to take an interest in school teaching.

The title of the book is as follows:

A plaine and easie Laying open of the Meaning and understanding of the Rules of Construction in the English Accidence, appointed by authoritie to be taught in all Schooles of his Majesties Dominions, for the great use and benefit of young beginners. By John Stockwood, sometime Schoolmaster of Tunbridge. Imprinted at London by the Assignes of Francis Flower. 1590. 8°.

'I dare boldly pronounce, that nothing is omitted, that any way concerneth the fitting of every example to every rule

throughout the whole rules of construction, having framed myself to be as it were dunstically plain, for the better understanding of the young ones, *unto whom nothing can be made too plain....*'

Stockwood proceeds to point out that his book will further the sale of the English 'Accidence'[1]' and that it will easily be seen to be advantageous to have the two bound together. He is at pains to state that he approves of the authorised grammar. 'I know,' he says, 'none (all circumstances considered) to whom our grammar allowed by public authority, ought to yield one foot of ground, in regard of plainness and easiness, if it be rightly understood and taught accordingly.'

Brinsley himself wrote a book which went through a number of editions, called *The posing* (i.e. questioning) *of the Parts* (of Speech). He also recommended a book by John Leech, an Oxford M.A., a schoolmaster, who had published:

A Booke of Grammar Questions, for the helpe of yong Scholars, to further them in the understanding of the Accidence, and Lilies verses, divided into three parts...(4th ed.) By John Leech. Hereunto are annexed foure little Colloquies, or Dialogues in Praxis of all the most necessary rules of construction; every one of them verbally translated for the help of yong scholars. London, 1650.

(This is the earliest edition in the British Museum Library but evidently it must have been in existence before 1612.)

Leech says: 'If my experience in 40 years' teaching have brought me any judgment I dare affirm that a scholar shall more profit by diligent learning and use of this book together with the Accidence in one year than by the common manner of teaching in two years at the least.'

In 1616, Thomas Granger, a writer of more than usual educational insight, published an elucidation in English of Lily's Grammar, and added the rules of construing, thus

[1] i.e. of Lily.

recognising that the reading of authors was a constituent part of grammar-teaching. The title of his book is:

Syntagma Grammaticum, Or an easie and methodicall explanation of Lillie's Grammar whereby the misterie of this Art is more planely set forth, both for the better helpe of all schoole maisters, in the true order of teaching and the scholers farre more easie attainiment of the Latine Tongue. London, 1616.

Granger discusses the relation of teacher and child. Some passages in his Preface throw light on the Grammar School teaching of his age and offer suggestions for improvement. Thus, he says, 'It requires good skill and art to condescend from the strength of a teacher's understanding, reason, and imagination, and to apply and intermingle them to, and with, the scholar's, gently and softly drawing him after him; knowing this that the scholar hath the same faculties of the soul, perfect but weak, and therefore, hath naturally a desire and rejoicing in that whereby he receiveth increase of strength to perfection, as contrarily he hath no pleasure in that which is too strong for him, no more than the sucking child hath of strong meats....' There followed:

1625.

*Animadversions upon Lillie's Grammar, or Lilly Scanned... set downe by way of Question and Answere....*1625.

1631. John Danes.

A Light to Lillie, or the better Teaching and Learning of the Latin Tongue.

1637. Thomas Hayne.

Grammatices Latinæ Compendium, Anno 1637. *Here also the most necessary Rules are expressed in English opposite to the Latine, that the one may facilitate and give light to the other.*

Thomas Hayne's *History of Lily's Grammar* has already been given[1]. Hayne says with regard to his book: 'For

[1] p. 253.

the attaining of this end, my case hath been first, to frame so clear and distinct a *Compendium*, as may not be *temporis dispendium*, nor frustrate the pains of such as use it; but in competent manner fit them for reading good authors, and inditing something of themselves. Secondly, I have endeavoured to follow a right and plain method because that maketh all learning more portable; and thirdly I have shunned divers curiosities and niceties, and abandoned some needless terms of Art and ambiguous expressions: because these cumber, and in no wise expedite the course of learners: and are more hard for children, than the knowledge of things themselves.'

In 1656, William Dugard published *The English rudiments of the Latin Tongue explained by Question and Answer.*

1659. Richard Busby.

An English Introduction to the Latin Tongue.

III. Praxes on Lily's Grammar.

Praxis Grammatica: verum et genuinum declinationum et conjugationum usum liquido indicans etc. in usum Schol. Magdal. Oxon. 8vo. Lond. 1622, 1623.

This was by *John Harmar*[1], who became chief Master of the Free School at St Albans. Also under master at Westminster School and Greek Professor at Oxford (1650–1660).

John Clarke:

1. *Dux Grammaticus*, 1633. This contains Praxes on the construction of impersonal verbs and syntax, by means of dialogues.

2. *Dux Oratorius*, 1633. In Latin and English:

A two-fold Praxis of the whole Latine Syntaxe Translated into English: The former in short sentences lesse exactly: The other comprised in four Dialogues more accurately. Together with divers other usefull and helpefull directions for yong grammarians. 1633.

[1] p. 242.

The second Praxis, dialogicall of the Latine Syntaxe, Translated grammatically into English. For the use and benefit of Grammar Schooles. 1633.

This book includes:

Helps to translate English into Latin. How to avoid the dangers of making false Latin. The Rules of Construing (from Brinsley, *Lud. Lit.*, p. 98).

IV. Supplementary Text-books to Lily's Grammar.

James Shirley (the dramatist) in 1649, wrote: *Via ad Latinam Linguam complanata*, including grammar rules in Latin and English verse. This was enlarged in 1656 in the *Rudiments of Grammar with the grammar rules in English verse.* Lastly, in 1660, the dramatist produced his '*Manuductio*, or a Leading of children by the Hand, through the Principles of Grammar.'

1659. Bassett Jones.

Herm'aelogium; or an essay at the rationality of the Art of Speaking. As a supplement to Lillie's Grammar...Offered by B. J. London.

1660. Priscianus.

Priscianus nascens or A Key to the Grammar School. Serving much to the exposition of the Grammatical Rules of Lilly and the more easie and certain Translating of English into Latine.

1660. *A Breviate of our King's whole Latin Grammar, Vulgarly called, Lillies. (Analytically disposed) Or a brief Grammatical Table thereof, to facilitate the apprehension, strengthen the Memory, and to encreas the benefit of young Learners. Made for the use of all Philologists; by the labour and pains of Joh. Brookbank lately schoolmaster in Fleet Street, London, and Minister of God's Word.*

Brookbank gives detailed directions for using his *Breviate.* He mentions:

Two books to be used with the Breviate.

'For the perfecting (of pupils) in *Quae Genus* and the *Syntaxis*, let them learn to say without book, and to construe and parse Mr Leech's Dialogues at the end of his *Grammar Questions* or in Mr Clark's *Dux Grammaticus*, whereby they may be perfected, in the understanding and practice of all that they have learned in Grammar, and in the whole Syntaxis.'

I have reserved to the last place in this section of the Elucidation of Lily the text-books on Latin Grammar of Charles Hoole. They are, by far, the best of the period, in their appreciation of the teachers' task. Hoole recognises that the child is the real centre of interest to the teacher and that the Latin Grammar must be accommodated to his capacity.

In his *New Discovery* (1660) Hoole raises the question whether Latin can be learned without grammar. He decides that it cannot, 'for it is not so familiarly spoken as English which is gotten only by hearing and imitation.' Moreover, not to know grammar, would lay the pupil open to all sorts of barbarisms and solecisms for the detection of which he would have no standard. 'Yet I conceive,' says Hoole, 'it is the readiest way to the gaining of this language to join assiduity of speaking, and reading and writing, and especially double translating, to the rules, for as the one affordeth us words and phrases, and the other directs us how to order them for a right speech, so the exercise of both will at last beget such a habit in us that we may increase our ability to speak and understand pure Latin, though perhaps the rules of grammar may be forgotten by us.'

The Latine Grammar Fitted for the use of Schools, wherein the words of Lilie's Grammar are (as much as might be) retained; many errors thereof amended, many needless things left out: many necessaries, that were wanting supplied; and all things ordered in a Method more agreeable to Children's Capacitie. By Charles Hoole, Mr of Arts, of Lincoln Collegde in Oxford, sometime Schoolmaster of Rotherham in Yorkshire; and now Teacher of a Private Grammar School in Goldsmith's

Alley not far from Aldersgate and Cripple-gate, London. And (that nothing might be wanting to the purpose) the English Translation is set down on the contrarie page for the benefit of Yong-learners. London, 1651.

The English is given on the left-hand pages and the Latin on the right.

His book is addressed 'to the schoolmasters of his acquaintance either in Citie or Countrie.' In it Hoole writes: 'Because our greatest cumber hitherto hath been Grammar I have first begun with it, and endeavoured to bring the rules of that art to the reach of children's apprehensions; that in daily reading, writing, and speaking Latin, they may clearly see and at once understand the reason of what they do.' Hoole further wrote in exposition of Lily:

The Common Rudiments of Latine Grammar Usually Taught in all Schools: Delivered in a very plaine Method for young beginners: viz. 1. *The Common Accidence examined,* 2. *The Terminations, and Examples of the Declensions and Conjugations.*

3. *Propria quae maribus*
Quae genus and
As in Praesenti

} Englished and explained. 1659.

Lastly, Hoole wrote the following comprehensive apparatus of Latin teaching, entitled *An easie Entrance To the Latine Tongue* (1651):

Wherein are

I. The Grounds of Grammar, and their Examination.
II. A vocabularie of common words, English and Latine.
III. Sundrie and short Examples applicable to the Rules of Concordance and Construction.
IV. Collections out of the lowest School Autors.
V. More elegant expressions for children.
VI. The first Principles of Christianitie.

This book contains all that is necessary 'for the first year's Latin.'

Note A.

Latin Grammars more or less independent of Lily[1].

(1) Latin Grammars of foreigners translated into English.

It is difficult to estimate the influence of Latin Grammars of foreign writers on classical study in England. But it may safely be said that with the scholarly schoolmaster, Latin Grammars of a foreign source were well-known. For all important Latin Grammars were written in Latin and their circulation was international. Amongst English educational writers the following foreign Latin grammarians are at least named and the list could be indefinitely prolonged: Aldus, Alvarez, Antonio de Lebrixa, Buchanan, Camerarius, Despauterius, Goclenius, Godescalcus, Golius, Lipsius, Mancinellus, Melanchthon, Perottus, Pontanus, Rivius, Sanctius, Scioppius, Scaliger, Schorus, Sulpitius, Valla, Verrepaeus, Vossius.

These authors, however, only occasionally found their way into the schoolroom. An accomplished classicist like Thomas Farnaby was familiar with the best of what had been written on classical subjects, and no doubt the same is true of a fairly large number of the schoolmasters. But there was no question of superseding Lily by any foreign grammarian. Amongst foreign Grammars adopted for school use which were printed in England were:

1585. *The Latin Grammar of Peter Ramus*, translated into English and published by Thomas Thomas at the Cambridge Press.

1631. Antonio de Lebrixa. *A briefe introduction to Syntax.... Collected out of Nebrissa...With the concordance supplyed by J(ohn) H(awkins), M.D.*, etc.

1665. Vossius. *Vossius in Supplementum Vulgaris Grammatices Contractus ab Edw. Leedes provehendae Literaturae in Scholâ Buriensi Studioso.*

Hoole had recommended the use of Vossius' Grammar in 1660, and probably long before. Vossius was recognised by scholars in England as being perhaps the greatest of all grammarians.

(2) Latin Grammars written by Englishmen more or less independent of Lily, up to 1660.

1634. Syms (Christopher). *An Introduction to, or, the Art of Teaching the Latine Speach, which by this method may easily bee taught to any boy howsoever dul of capacity within the compas of four years.*

[1] *See* also Chapter XVIII. on the Practice of Grammar Teaching.

And the author doubteth not, but an intelligent man having once tasted thereof, may of himself by this method attain the understanding thereof with the help of a Dictionary. And it may bee properly stiled the door of doors, and gate of gates to the Latine. Invented, practised and proved by the author Christopher Syms. Experientia artium fundamen. Dublin, Printed by the Society of Stationers.

Syms states that children 'have been formerly more blunted by the first teachers to read (i.e. of teaching) that they are often cast into detestation of reading.' He claims that his book is not a bare speculation but an experimented practice, 'not absolutely and merely mine own device but partly Master Lily's. Doubtless Lily himself would have been willing to insert these changes in his Introduction to Grammar.....'

Syms apparently wished his book to be made for Ireland what Lily was for England. There are two Addresses in Syms' Introduction:

I. To the King Charles I, asking him to vouchsafe his royal protection to and to command the general practice of, Syms' Method.

II. To the Rt. Hon. Thomas Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy General of Ireland, Lord President of His Majesty's Council established in the North Parts of England, recognising that his Book cannot be made of general circulation in Ireland, without Strafford's 'favourable approbation.'

The text is interspersed with 'Advertisements' to the Teacher, explaining the Method to be adopted in teaching.

Syms is emphatic that the child should first 'read his native language well.' He should know English syntax before he learns Latin syntax. 'I wonder,' he says, 'that the English syntax should be omitted and left untaught by any teacher.' Then with a minimum knowledge of paradigms, and a comparison of English and Latin syntax, Syms believes the way to Latin grammar and composition can be made short and pleasant.

1638. John Danes. *Paralipomena Orthographiae, et Etymologiae, Prosodiae, una cum Scholiis ad Canones, de genere substantivorum, de Anomalis, Praeterito et Supinis Verborum, Syntaxi, Carminum ratione, et Figuris. Ex optimis Authoribus et Grammaticorum Coryphaeis, collecta et asserta. In quatuor libros distributa. Studiis et industria Joannis Danesii.* London, 1638.

This is a learned Grammar, and for that reason, even less suitable than Lily for school use.

1641. Thomas Farnaby. *Systema Grammaticum.* London.

It is said that this Grammar was prepared by royal order and specially authorised by the King. Apparently, this Grammar was of the learned kind, not likely to compete with Lily for school use. It is stated to have

been dedicated to G. J. Vossius, and it appears that Vossius and Farnaby were in correspondence.

Two other writers of Grammars call for mention, men whose names are better known in other ways than as writers of elementary grammar books, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, driven into school-teaching by the Great Civil War, and John Milton.

1647. Jeremy Taylor and Wm. Wyat. *A new and easie Institution of Grammar. In which the Labour of many yeares, usually spent in learning the Latine Tongue, is shortned and made easie. In usum Juventutis Cambro-Britannicae. Non obstant hac Disciplinae per illas euntibus, sed circa illas haerentibus.* (Quint.) London, 1647.

Milton's book falls outside of the period up to 1660, but his experience in teaching had been gathered before that date.

Accedence commenc't Grammar supply'd with sufficient rules for the use of such as younger or Elder, are desirous, without more trouble than needs to attain the Latin Tongue; the elder sort especially, with little Teaching, and their own Industry. By J. M. London, 1669, 12mo. (pp. 65).

Milton mentions the complaint that the 'tenth part of a man's life, ordinarily extended is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely the Latin tongue.' His remedy was to join Accidence and 'Grammar' in one book, and in the English tongue, 'whereby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understanding much more easy.'

To these should be added the work of a writer, Richard Lloyd, already mentioned in connexion with the teaching of Reading[1].

1653. *The Latine Grammar, Or | A Guide teaching a compen|dious way to attain exact | Skill in the | Latine Tongue, | For | A proper Congruity and elegant | variety of Phrases in Prose | and Verse. | Published for the Common good in continuation of a former Guide, teaching to | read English rightly and Write | accordingly. | By Richard Lloyd. | London, |* 1653.

[1] p. 183.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GRAMMAR WAR. WITH AN EXCURSUS ON COMENIUS AND HIS ENGLISH FOLLOWERS ON THE TEACHING OF GRAMMAR.

The real Grammar War was not that described by Andreas Guarna[1] in his discourse of great war between the Noun and the Verb as two Princes, contending for the chief place or dignity in Oration. The internal wars, within the ranks of the grammarians who were attempting to dispose authoritatively of the vexed questions of grammar, impressed the imagination of those engaged in the toilsome war to be fought between the grammar-teachers and the teachers of Latin authors. The experience of an authorised Grammar from 1540–1660 proved that a large number of modifying and supplementary works sprang into existence, to meet the actual needs of school teaching. It by no means follows that the mass of the schoolmasters were opposed during this period to a uniform authorised Grammar.

For instance, Mulcaster, who stands as the type of many schoolmasters of the period, the advocate of so many educational reforms, accepts the principle of uniformity as readily as any of his contemporaries[2]. 'Uniformity...by acquainting young wits even from their cradles both to embrace and apply *uniforms*, which in things subject to sense is delightful to behold; in comprehensions of the mind is comfortable to think on; in

[1] The *Bellum grammaticale* was translated by W. Hayward into English in 1569. It was for the next century well known as setting the 'eight parts of speech altogether by the ears.'

[2] In *Positions* (1581), p. 271.

executions and effects is the stay wherein we stand, and the steadiest recourse to correct errors by.' So Edmund Coote says in his Preface to the *English Schoolmaster* (1596):

'If I be generally received I shall cause one uniform manner of teaching, a thing which as it hath brought much profit unto the Latin tongue so would it do to all other languages if the like were practised.'

The defence, however, of the authorised Grammar in any whole-hearted way was not often articulate. The defenders, generally speaking, rested placidly content and secure in its authorisation. On the whole, we may say that the thorough-going conservative schoolmasters probably justified it by arguments such as those used by John Brinsley in the following passage:

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Spoudeus: 'But what think you of diversities of Grammars, and of divers courses in teaching? Do you not take them to be very inconvenient?'

Philoponus: 'Yes indeed: for by this means the younger scholars coming at new schools, or under new masters, are new to begin; or are hindered, and do lose much time, when they must after a sort begin again. Many of great towardness and hope are thought to have nothing in them, because they are not acquainted with the new courses.

'Also their former Masters are discredited, which happily had taken the best and most profitable pains with them; the children are utterly or very much discouraged. Besides that many schoolmasters are extremely ignorant, and insufficient, not knowing any good course of teaching at all.'

Spoud.: 'But how might these be helped?'

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Phil.: 'Only thus: The best courses being once found out by search, conference, and trial, with directions and helps for the practice thereof, and the same universally received, or at least known; these inconveniences should be for most part prevented, and both Masters and scholars go on with cheerfulness in every place. In the mean time this is the safest course:

To make them perfect in our ordinary Grammar, by the use whereof alone so many excellent scholars have been: then they will be sure to go forward in any school or course, and to be well liked by every one[1].'

Other writers, later on, are more doubtfully favourable. It is to be noticed that writers of grammars from 1574 to 1660 are very careful to state that their works are not intended to supersede or to be independent of the authorised Grammar—for that Grammar was protected by law, and it was necessary to avoid the imputation of competition. The writers of Grammars, therefore, claim to be supplementers. The general view is carefully stated by Hoole and Nedham.

Charles Hoole (1660) argues in favour of retaining Lily's Grammar in use. He points out that if children are to change their Grammar as often as they change their masters 'they will be like those that run from room to room in a labyrinth.' It is desirable for preparing for exhibitions and scholarships—and in all cases where a general test will be applied—though doubtless, he admits, great proficiency may be attained by means of other Grammars.

Marchamont Nedham[2], writing in 1663, says: 'They do almost in all countries entertain the same Grammar, and go by a certain rule of teaching; Despauter obtains in France, Alvarez in Spain, and all England over heretofore Lilly and Camden[3] were in the hands of youth. And, indeed, there is the same reason for uniformity in school as in church, the variety of Methods (supposing they were all severally in themselves very good) doing very much mischief, by not only distracting young heads, and discouraging them, and putting them back upon their removes to new Masters; but also making a fundamental difference in their course as they proceed to other courses.'

[1] John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, p. 303.

[2] In a *Discourse Concerning Schools and Schoolmasters.*

[3] Head of Westminster School—wrote the standard school Greek Grammar.

William Walker (1623–1684), the writer of the famous school-book on the 'Particles',[1] in his Preface, puts his view very clearly: 'Having observed whilst I was Schoolmaster for many years in Louth, new Grammars ever and anon coming forth, I concluded somewhat was amiss in the *old*, for why else should the learned Authors of them spend their pains in compositions of *new*?

'And this occasioned my considering of, and comparing the old and the new together; the result of which consideration and comparison was this, a conclusion that any of them would serve to do the business they were framed for, but none of them would do it so much better, as that there was any necessity to lay by the old to give place to any new. And in as much as the change of Grammars was of evil consequence to learners, therefore I concluded that though some few in those days (of liberty, shall I say, or rather licentiousness) might take a fancy privately to teach some *new Grammar*; yet generally teachers would in public Schools make use of the *old*, unless Authority should impose some new one, which I could not imagine it would do without more necessity than any I saw....I have thought good, after much deliberation with myself and some of my learned friends, to set my hand to explain the Obscurities, to rectify the Mistakes, and to supply the Defects pretended to be in the old Grammar.' Walker intimates that he has had the task 'under consideration' well-nigh twenty years. His book certainly shows enormous labour in supplementing Lily's Grammar.

Further references to the history of Lily's Grammar may be found in John Twell's Preface to his *Grammatica Reformata* (1683) and to Dr J. H. Lupton's article on Wm Lily, and on John Ward (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Perhaps it should be added

[1] A *Treatise of English Particles; shewing much of the variety of their significations and uses in English, and how to render them into Latin.* As this book is mentioned by Hoole, it must have been written before 1660, but the earliest edition in the British Museum Library is that of 1663.

that the most incisive and at the same time comprehensive attack on the contents of Lily's Grammar was contained in the *Grammatical Commentaries; being an Apparatus to a new National Grammar, by way of Animadversion upon the Falsities, Obscurities, Redundancies and defects of Lilly's System now in use; in which also are noticed many Errors of the most eminent Grammarians, both ancient and modern.* This was written in 1706 by Richard Johnson, Master of the Free School at Nottingham.

This book showed that the hundred and sixty-six years which had elapsed since Lily's Grammar was first published had brought forward progress in grammatical knowledge, which made Lily's Grammar an altogether inadequate standard book for the 18th century. Its credentials were gone, after Johnson's attack, however misguidedly and artificially 'its authority' was imposed. Still its 'authority' was maintained. The claim of freedom as to the Grammar to be used had been well expressed by Henry Peacham in his *Compleat Gentleman* (1622). 'I would not have all masters tied to one method, no more than all the shires of England to come to London by one high-way. Let every master, if he can by pulling up stiles and hedges, and private way to himself, and in God's name! go with easy descent to Castalia by a path where "was never track of yore" (Georgics 3).' Mr Gordon Duff has pointed out the decadence of English printing after the Statute forbidding foreign publishers in England. Milton's *Areopagitica* in this period made its splendid demand for liberty of printing all sorts of opinions. Peacham deserves credit in the Grammar War for his sound view as to liberty of method in language-teaching. The doctrine of freedom of method in teaching, is as vital as freedom of trade in commerce; and the history of Lily's Grammar is a guiding-mark as to the futility of authoritative text-books in teaching, as significant in the commonwealth of teachers as the maintenance of the Corn-Laws to the consumer of bread.

The Diversity of Grammars.

In a *Grammar of the Latin Tongue*, written by Solomon Lowe in 1726, there are enumerated no less than 186 writers of Latin Grammars which either were or had been in use in England. So that Lily's Grammar, promulgated by the King's authority and supported by the ecclesiastical sanction of bishops, was really unable to maintain its monopoly in face of grammatical and pedagogical developments. Solomon Lowe's list is given in a note at the end of this chapter[1].

Having now dealt with the advocates, the modifiers, the supplementers and the arch-critic, Richard Johnson, of Lily, it is necessary to state the views of those who not only opposed Lily, but grammar-books generally. Already the views of Vives, Elyot and Ascham have been mentioned. In the earlier stages of the contest, the principal leaders of the revolt against the tyranny of grammar were foreigners.

In 1614 Eilhardus Lubinus[2] wrote his remarkable Epistolary Discourse to his new edition of the New Testament. He makes a strong protest against the grammar-teaching of the schools. He describes it as a 'stoppage and let' to studies, and shows that, as grammar was taught, the teaching led to what is now sometimes called 'arrested development.' The time taken up by it would be sufficient to enable the pupil to learn Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He says: 'Masters so oblige and bind their scholars, as if it were a thing impossible, that they should know and be able to speak aught in Latin, except it be also added according to what precepts of Grammar. Whereupon it often happens that even masters themselves cannot speak readily. He shall never speak promptly and with expedition, or quickly, who hath tied and fettered himself with these rules of Grammar.' In another passage Lubinus says he had often been driven to think that 'some wicked and malign spirit—an enemy of the human race, through the agency of some ill-omened monks originally introduced the (grammatical) method of instruction.'

[1] p. 288. [2] See note to p. 312.

On the theoretical side, no man put the case for reform in grammar-teaching with more incisiveness than J. A. Comenius[1]. 'The very beginners in grammar are so overwhelmed by precepts, rules, exceptions to the rules, and exceptions to the exceptions, that they are stupified before they begin to understand anything. Mechanics take their apprentices into the shops, show them what has been produced, place tools in their hands and show them how they should be held and used. Then, if they make mistakes, they give them advice and correct them, usually by example rather than by mere words. Experience shows that this is a better method than beginning by drumming rules into them. Rules are thorns to the understanding. So with language-teaching. No one has ever mastered any language or art by precept alone; while by practice it has been done, even without precept. Truly, Quintilian says: *Longum et difficile iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla.*'

Mr Richard Carew, of Anthony in Cornwall, relates that after some sixteen years of grammar-learning[2] he found his knowledge quite inadequate for use in speaking Latin when abroad, and declares that he learned more French in France in three-quarters of a year than he had learned Latin in over thirteen. He advocates that, instead of teaching Latin Grammar to children, they should be 'employed in much reading and writing, and turning their Latin books into English and returning the same back again into Latin, and thus go on to the knowledge of many good authors.' He adds that he would not reject Grammar altogether but would postpone it to a riper age, when the student can better understand the 'reasons thereof.' Milton (1644) speaks of the 'grammatic flats and shallows where pupils stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction.' In the same year, Thomas Grantham, a private teacher of languages, wrote his *Brain-breakers' Breaker*, in which he inveighs, apparently with justice,

[1] In the *Didactica Magna*, 1632.

[2] At the beginning of the 17th century.

against the Orbiliuses of the time. In wrath he writes, 'When I consider the great expense of time, expense of many years, and very seldom to any purpose, may be a little smattering of Latin and less of Greek; after all these considerations, pity to youth and indignation against these furious whipsters conspired in me to redeem those tender years from this great captivity.' He declares the root of the evil is this 'lip-labour,' 'the learning of grammar word by word without book.' 'Oh,' says he, 'how great is this Diana of the common schools'! He quotes authorities to show how impossible it is to teach grammar by this method. Read Ascham on the point; Erasmus, too, says the same. Brinsley condemns it. Another writer has written sharply against this 'dog-bolt' way. He urges that in all arts, such as geometry, arithmetic, logic, navigation, pupils are taught without having the subjects 'cuffed in word by word, without book.' 'It is absurd,' he concludes, 'to teach a boy to make Latin by the Latin rules, when a boy understands not Latin.'

The whole group of Commonwealth educational reformers, Hezekiah Woodward, George Snell, William Petty, John Dury, Samuel Hartlib and the rest, are intent on saving the time wasted in learning grammar-rules, and wish the child to proceed to gain useful knowledge in whatever Latin they learn from the beginning, by reading those Latin authors only, who give useful knowledge. Hence the advocacy of the reading of such authors as Cato, Varro, Columella, Pliny, Vitruvius, etc.

The Grammar War has continued, of course, up to our own times. The acceptance of the direct method of teaching modern languages is an indication that the analytical study of grammar will be eventually postponed to a much later stage than has been usual. When Locke in 1693 wrote his *Thoughts on Education*, he states that teacher and parents would scarcely think their children had had an orthodox education unless they learned Lily's Grammar. Locke advocated Latin-teaching, without a Grammar in the first instance, 'for if you will con-

sider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child when he comes into the world than English, and yet he learns English without master, rule or grammar, and so might he Latin, too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language.' The method he advocates is learning to read Latin from the start by means of interlinear translations, a method that goes back, at least, as far as Arias Montanus's teaching of the Greek Testament[1].

The Grammar War, it will be seen, involved the great question, whether 'Grammar' was to be used in the old sense of 'Literature' or by the introduction of an authorised text-book, it should block up, at any rate, for a length of time, the approach to reading; or if reading of authors were contemporaneous, it should introduce an element, in which the connexion was difficult to trace. The Grammar was to the reformers what a Gazetteer is to a geographer, simply a book of reference, whilst the reading of authors was a course of travel abroad into Literature. To the orthodox schoolmaster the authorised Grammar was, as it were, a sacred book, and once known, all the facts of classical literature, if they were ever reached, could find explanation, or justification in it. The point at stake essentially was whether the imparting of the subject-matter or the training of the child's mind in an interest in Latin, and Latin speaking and reading, ought to be the first pedagogic aim.

There were, of course, educational consequences from the requirement of the teaching of Lily's Grammar in all schools, as the basis of Latin-teaching. To mention only two; firstly, learning parts of speech in isolation, the idea of words as nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. in themselves, apart from their function in the sentence, was ingrained in the child's mind. The idea of the sentence as a unit was impossible when the grammar had first settled in the child's mind the mysteries of the accidence of the single words. Secondly, the absorption

[1] *See* Chapter xxx.

in grammar for a number of years, when the grammar was learned from a book, came to mean, psychologically, learning a language through the memory of the eye. As Mr W. H. Widgery[1] put it, such a method induced the idea, 'that languages are built up mosaic-like out of paradigms and syntax rules, a view diametrically opposed to the truth.'

The English writer who explains the most fully his objection to grammar-teaching in the first half of the 17th century is Dr Joseph Webbe. He was a physician who turned (private) schoolmaster. He considered 'Grammar is become a full-swolen and overflowing sea, which by a strong hand arrogates to itself (and hath well near gotten) the whole traffic in learning, especially for languages.' His view is that language is learned rightly from clauses as wholes, and not from the grammatical study of word by word. Comparison of clause with clause will bring the understanding of the separate words and not vice-versa. Webbe's two tractates on language-teaching without grammar are but little known[2], yet it would be difficult to cite the name of a more incisive and competent critic of grammar-teaching in the 17th century.

Webbe's first tractate is entitled:

An Appeale to Truth, In the Controversie betweene Art and Use; About the best and most expedient Course in Languages. To be read Fasting; For the greater benefit of the deluded innocencie of our own and other Nations. Drawen and Exhibited by Jos. Webbe, Dr of Ph. London, 1622.

This is addressed 'Great Lady, and sole Governesse of my best Endeavoures,' i.e. to Truth.

After showing that the Latin language is not to be learned through the art of Grammar, but out of Latin authors, Webbe concludes:

[1] In his valuable *Teaching of Languages in Schools*, p. 21.

[2] W. H. Widgery is the only modern writer whom I have noticed as referring to Webbe. He suggests that if 'we had a Pedagogic Society, Webbe's tracts would be worth reprinting.'

'It manifestly appears that there are two kinds of Latin, one natural, the other adulterate. The natural is that which the men of authority amongst the Romans, the Nobility and that which almost all men spake, and wherein the ancient authors, Cicero and the rest, did write; in which are the pleasures of the language, true eloquence, all delight and perfect elegancy, who composed their works by no Art of Grammar, but after the Use and Custom of speaking and especially the judgment of hearing. And therefore Cicero said, "Our ancestors thought good, that we should obey custom, linked with judgment of hearing: for, custom hath given leave that it shall be lawful to offend for sweetness sake".'

The next year Dr Webbe presented his

A Petition to the High Court of Parliament, In the behalf of auncient and authentique Authors, for the universal and perpetuall good of every man and his posteritie: Presented by Joseph Webbe, Dr in Ph. Printed 1623.

He begins by quoting Quintilian: *Aliud est Grammatice, aliud Latine loqui.* 'There are two sorts of Latin, whereof one is Grammar-Latin and the other Latin-Latin. By Latin-Latin I mean such as the best approved Authors wrote, and left us in their books and monuments of use and custom. By Grammar-Latin I understand that Latin that we now make by Grammar rules, the first intention of which rules, and their collection out of that custom and those Authors, was, to make us write and speak such Latin as that custom and those Authors did; which was, Latin-Latin: but it succeeded not.'

Dr Webbe's *Petition* is so little known, and is such an outstanding educational document that it is desirable to call special attention to it. Substantially, Webbe's demand is the learning of grammar from authors. He insists that the *clause* is the starting-point of learning Latin.

'Construing word for word is impossible in any language, e.g. in the barbarous English of the Frenchman "I you pray,

sir," for *je vous prie, Monsieur.* Wherefore I had rather a scholar should remember the natural and received position of a clause by keeping the words always all together, than understand the particular correspondence of the words, and thereby lose their proper places. For discretion, and comparison of clause with clause, will at length bring the understanding of the words, whether he will or no; but nothing will bring the true position of these words again, by reason that our own tongue doth therein still misguide us, and makes us always to be distinguished for strangers, even in our very writing.'

Note A.

Tresmarus on Grammar.

In a book of Rhetorical Exercises drawn up by Johannes Tresmarus, in 1657, an example is given as a model, for the method of dealing with a theme, with Grammar as the subject.

This, naturally, presents the ordinary arguments of the time in favour of grammar-teaching. It is as follows:

Quaenam ex septem artibus liberalibus praestantissima sit.

Pro grammatica, artium liberalium prima.

I. Exordium sumas ab auctoritate preceptoris, qui discipulorum, de artibus, quas tractant, judicia, et sensus cognoscere velit: cui proinde obtemperandum, licet nondum aetatis nec doctrinae eius sis, ut de tantis rebus pronunciare possis.

II. Propositio sit: te primas dare Grammaticae.

III. Confirmatio his rationibus nitatur.

1. Grammatica est clavis ad reliquas disciplinas et scientias aditum patefaciens: unde Quintilianus eam fundamentum vocat Oratoriae. Insiste hic excutiendo analogias tum clavis, tum fundamenti (quantum ad necessitatem, firmitatem, rectitudinem illius ad clausa aperienda, huius ad aedificium sustinendum) cum Grammaticae omni in re literaria usu; et dicendi campum habebis amplissimum.

2. Custos veritatis verba et phrases idoneas ac rebus convenientes suggerans.

3. Interpres auctorum, tum qui sacri, tum qui profani; Theologi, Jurisperiti, Medici, Philosophi, Oratores, Poetae, Historici; qui omnes sine Grammatica obscuri et ignoti manent.

4. Domina omnis rei literariae, eius potestati et legibus ipsi etiam reges et principes subjecti; qui ut in corpora et vitas aliorum, imo in ipsas etiam leges et instituta potestatem habeant, in verba non habent. Sigismundus Imperator in concilio Constantiensi Placentino, quod Schisma contra analogiam in foeminino genere proferret, maiorem esse Imperatoris, quam Grammatici Prisciani auctoritatem, respondens, irrisus fertur.

5. Habent apud omnes populos cultores praestantissimos; in quibus etiam imperatores fuere, ut Caesar, Augustus, et alii. Vide Plinium de Grammaticis.

IV. Epilogus concludit praestantiam Grammaticae, eamque condiscipulis commendat.

Note B.

S. Lowe's List of Grammars[1], 1726.

A Grammar of the Latin Tongue, by Solomon Lowe, London, 1726.
An Alphabetical List of Grammars, etc.

(186) Written by Abadie, Agroetius, Ainsworth, Alstedius, Alvarus, Antiquus, Apherdianus, Artisianus, Asper, Augustinus, Bangius, Bassus, Bechererus, Beda, Berault, Beumlerus, Bilstenius, Boncle, Bonetius, Borrichius, Bossius, Brady, Brinsley, Busby, Camerarius, Cassiodorus, Censorinus, Cerda, Charisius, Chiappisius, Chytraeus, Cledonius, Codomannus, Cognatus, Cole, Colet, Comenius, Consentius, Corderius, Cox, Crusius, D. w., Dalefait, Danes, Dausquius, Despauter, Diomedes, Drosacus, Dugard, E. j., Elyot, Enocus, Eutyches, F. j., Farnborough, Farnaby, Finckius, Fortunatianus, Fox, Frischlinus, Goclenius, Godley, Gordon, Granger, Grocyn, Hayne, Helvicus, Henley, Heohurnius, Hirlemannus, Hoadly, Holtusius, Hoole, Horman, Hughes, Hume, Hutterus, Irenicus, Jaszberenyi, Jersin, Johnson, Kirkwood, Lane, Langius, Leech, Leeds, Leobertus, Lewis, Lily, Linacre, Lithocomus, Longus, M. t., Macrobius, Manutius, Melanchthon, Micyllus, Milton, Monro, Mosellanus, Murmelius, Neander, Nebrissensis, Niger, Nigidius, L'Oeuvre, Parkyns, Pxonians, P. r., Perizonius, Perottus, Pescottus, Philippus, Philomath, Phocas, Plateanus, Platearius, Plotus, Prat, Prateolus, Prime, Priscianus, Probus, Putschius, R. j., R. r., Ramus, Rhemnius, Rhenius, Ritwise, Rivius, Ronkesley, Ruddiman, Rufinus, S. n., Sanctius.

[1] This list is given as it stands. At any rate, it shows the great variety of Latin Grammars, though it is not easy to identify each one named.

Anonymous, beginning thus:

An easy entrance, An english introd., Compendium declinandi, Elementale linguae lat., Etymologiae grammaticae primordia, Grammaticarum institutionum, Grammatica lat., Grammaticae latinae catechesis, Grammatica latina philippo-ramea, Grammatices linguae lat., Grammaticae latinae rudimenta, Grammatica obstetricia, Grammaticae rudimenta, Hermes romanus, Hortulus grammaticus, Hortulus puerorum, Les nouveaux rudiments, Methodus loquendi, Methodus nomina, Milleloquium tyronum, Priscianus embryo, Promptuarium linguae lat., Quaestiones de primis, Rudimenta ad veterum, Rudimenta grammatices philip., Some instructions, The royal gramm., Verbs decl.

Excursus. Comenius and his English followers on the teaching of Grammar.

There is a passage quoted by John Robotham in his Preface to Horne's translation of Comenius's *Janua Linguarum*, from a book of Richard Mulcaster (*Cato Christianus*)[1]. The Preface to the *Cato Christianus* was written in Latin, and the passage quoted by Robotham is to this effect: 'Let the boy who has learned how to decline nouns and conjugate verbs quickly proceed both to speak and to write Latin. The plague of schools is that teachers somewhat hurriedly drop the declensions and conjugations and think it the best method of teaching that boys should fruitlessly run through *all the rules* learned by heart, but not understood, before they set themselves to the unfolding of the meaning of authors and imitating them.'

This incisive passage of Mulcaster makes us regret that the whole *Cato Christianus* is not forthcoming. It is precisely the position of reformers like Comenius, though expressed long before his time. Robotham also praises the Preface to the authorised Grammar, which similarly insists on the knowledge of declension and conjugation, and the running over of the principal rules of concord and construction. But Robotham urges that these are not to be regarded as 'the main' but to be

[1] A book of which I have been unable to find a copy. It is surprising that the 16th and 17th centuries did not take more kindly to a Christianised Cato, for it is exactly what we should have expected the schoolmasters to adopt.

brought in 'by the by.' 'The often application of the rule to sundry examples (in canvassing his authors Latin), and some practice of his own will soon so fix the idea of it in his fancy, that within a while, his experience will be his rule, and the quintessence of his grammar will be printed in his brain.' By thus reading authors and gathering the grammar from its use by authors the child will learn 'that the end of his pains is not words but matter, that the study of trivial languages is but a praeludium and prologue to the study of deeper arts. Howsoever, jabbering by mere rote may be winked at for a time in a mere child, yet to keep him long at that stay, is not to make him a scholar but to teach a parrot, and under pretence of advancing him to the credit of a linguist, it is to degrade him from being a man. It is to enlarge the liberty of his tongue, but to stop the use of his reason.'

Comenius himself hardly explains his purpose better than his English editor Robotham. Turning to the question of exercise in translation, Robotham deals with the 'large circuit of the vast and uncertain walk which the boy must perambulate before he can attain any reasonable acquaintance with the Latin tongue.' The boy cannot get his knowledge of vocabulary by merely conning by heart a dictionary, 'compiled into a structure' of a mere alphabetical order. To 'compose' these words of the dictionary by taking them from the alphabetical order and putting them into a speech' 'were to make ropes of sand.'

But Comenius's plan involved the learning of a vocabulary of real use for the naming of 'things.' The reading of choice and elegant ancient authors was too costly for a scholar, both from the price of the large library it entailed and also from

[1] This is substantially the method of the Jesuits' *Janua Linguarum*, 1611. In 1200 sentences the attempt is made to include all root-words in the Latin languages. The sentences are so constructed that the same word (with the exception of the verbs *esse* and *fieri* and mere particles) shall not occur twice in the whole book.

the expenditure of time and labour. For a close study of classical authors, would not include a vocabulary of all the inventions and novelties of 'things' come into use and notice since classical times, and, moreover, in Christian divinity, the classical Latin is unsuited for the expression. New terms are wanted, and Comenius's plea, in short, is for a Latin founded upon the needs of the times, in theology, science, and general knowledge, and the concentration of the teacher on the imparting of useful knowledge. In this task the medium is language, and several languages might be imparted to the child, if the subject-matter be constant, and such subject-matter so useful that the going over it a number of times in different languages would be time well spent, in familiarising the child with what was all-important for him to know in all kinds of knowledge.

The aim, therefore, of Comenius's *Janua Linguarum Vestibulum*[1] and the *Orbis Pictus*, which is a short form of the *Janua*, made interesting by copper-cut illustrations, was to give encyclopaedic instruction, and at the same time to teach the grammar and construction of the vernacular, Latin and other languages. These text-books ignore the classics. In subject-matter their significance is that of the teaching of the words to denote the objects of sense-experience, and the communication to the child of such general knowledge as constitutes the accepted views of the age on all important subjects in a simple form.

The effect of this realistic tendency starting in England chiefly from Lord Bacon, but developed, pedagogically, by Comenius, found an application to grammar within the period up to 1660 in Hezekiah Woodward, and soon after that period in Mark Lewis and Elisha Coles.

A passage from Hezekiah Woodward[2] will show the early effect of the new realistic principles on grammar-teaching:

[1] Of which there was a translation into English by J. Brookbank, 1647.

[2] *A Light to Grammar*, 1641, Chap. VII.

'More than a year since, the child could call unto his mother, the maid, and the man, John and Joan both. He hath set his mother a stool or some such thing. He hath picked an apple and a nut, cherries also out of her lap and pocket. All this he hath done. Then he told us what part of speech these are, how proper some, how common other some, what gender he, what she, and that the stool was neither of both....Tell him of sharp and sweet, he will not be satisfied, till he have the thing, be it grapes, vinegar, apples, honey, sugar, etc. Now he knows his adjective, no man better. He relishes it on his tongue's end. His little judgment is so stupid in his sense, that he can compare through all degrees also: This is sharp, that sharper; the other sharpest of all...all these by the sense which never fails, when the child is well.' So on Woodward goes, with numbers and cases. Then to pronouns and verbs, adverbs and even particles, and the practice of etymology.

Syntax, thinks Woodward, can be taught just as easily:—

'He sees in his father's house, stones upon stones; timber shot into timber, etc. Thence he learns concord or agreement.' Moreover, the mother-tongue is the best 'precognition' for the technical concord of grammar. 'The child will not say "him did read"; no, "he did read"; "we are," not "we art".'...

Woodward proceeds through the figures and tropes. The child who has seen his mother make apple-pies has learned to distinguish who made them, of what materials, the form and fashion, and for what end. Thus he has an idea of the four kinds of causes, according to Aristotle—the efficient, formal, material, and final causes. For Prosody, Woodward has his 'precognitions.' His whole effort is a protest against *ab ignoto ad ignotum.*

Woodward's conclusion is: If Grammar can go into the child at 'the gates of the senses, all sciences will follow by the same light and at the same doors.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PRACTICE OF GRAMMAR-TEACHING.

The usual manner of learning to 'read' the Accidence was, as Brinsley tells us in the *Ludus Literarius*, in 1612,

'To let the pupils read the text-book over every one by himself by lessons, as in reading other English: and so to hear them one by one, as they can say. In the harder lessons to read it over before them. Thus I[1] make them to read over their Accidence once or twice within the book before they do get it without book. For getting it without book, I cause them to say as oft as they can. To keep that which they have learned, by weekly repetitions, and by saying parts.'

Brinsley is never weary of requiring that the pupil shall understand what he learns. His principle is:

Legere et non intellegere neglegere est.

He will let the pupils begin by reading, but one boy must read aloud, whilst the others listen and correct him where wrong, and so the class is never to 'be idle' till all can read the lesson. The leading precaution is: learn *but little* at a time, and that little *perfectly*.

But prior even to the reading by the pupils, must be the teacher's explanation. This is the method to adopt:

[1] i.e. Spoudeus, who is always the exponent, in Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius*, of the current methods of teaching.

'1. Read to the pupils the lesson.

'2. Show them the plain meaning of everything as easily, shortly and familiarly as possible.

'3. Propound all unto them in short questions. Ask the questions directly in order as they lie in the book, answering them first yourself.

'4. Then, you may ask them the same questions and let them answer them, with their book for reference.'

Brinsley allows the book to be used in answering questions, in the first instance because it will 'much encourage' the children. If the question is long, divide it into many short ones. The master must be as a nurse, 'as it were stammering and playing with them, to seek by all means to breed in the little ones a love of their masters, with delight in their books and a joy that they can understand....Neither is the wise master to stand with the children about amending the Accidence, if he think anything faulty or defective, but only to make them understand the rules as they are set down in the book, for this they will keep.'

Without rejecting the method currently adopted of 'reading' the Accidence, Brinsley attempts to transfigure it by requiring intelligent learning, and its thorough testing. Hence, he suggests constant questions and answers. Thus Brinsley desires to convert the 'reading' method into the 'questioning' method. But the accidence, in his view, must be learned from a text-book. He gives minute directions for the use of his method in all points, in connexion with all parts of speech. His treatment is marked by great thoroughness. No pains can be too great for the perfect knowledge of the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. Frequent repetitions and examinations must be made. All previous knowledge must be held in memory, and examined before going on to the new. Drilling in all the uncertain and difficult old knowledge must be incessant. After the accidence has

been 'learned over,' spend another month in making it perfect. In short Brinsley's method may be summarised: Intelligent understanding of rules, constant 'apposing' or questioning, and the practical recognition of *Repetitio*, as *mater studiorum*.

Passing on to the Grammar, Spoudeus states the current way of teaching grammar. 'As for mine own self I have only used to cause my scholars to learn it without book and a little to construe it, i.e. the Grammar [in Latin], and after, to make it as perfect as I can by oft saying Parts: Finally, in parsing their lectures, to give the rules. This hath been all that I have done.'

Philoponus says he knows that this is 'the most that is done ordinarily: but to say without book and construe a little are smally available unless your scholar be able to show the meaning and use of his rules.' Brinsley requires the pupil to give examples, to show where the force of the example lies, and so to apply the examples to the rules that 'the pupils may do the like by them, in parsing or making Latin.'

It must be borne in mind that in Lily's Grammar the accidence is given in English, but when grammar, i.e. Lily's *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices*, is reached, this serious study is to be undertaken in Latin. This characteristic of the old authorised Grammar has been constantly criticised in the 17th and succeeding centuries on the ground of teaching the 'unknown by the unknown,' or even *ignotum per ignotius*. The explanation is simple, if we suppose that Latin speech was expected to be, to some extent, familiar before grammar was studied. Naturally, however, when Latin became less of a spoken language, the anomaly of beginning Latin studies by first learning the grammar without any knowledge whatever of any other language than the vernacular, gave to the critics a force of attack, which however just in the circumstances, would hardly have been so cogent in earlier times. It has not, however, been sufficiently noticed that the earlier Grammars, not only of Colet, Wolsey, Holt, but also Lily's Grammar

itself, made the concession of explaining the Accidence in English.

William Haine deserved well of the English boys by translations of Lily's Rules and the Syntax[1], and these were afterwards ordinarily bound up with Lily's Grammar. Brinsley wishes every boy to have a copy of the 'Rules construed' as they were called. Each boy is then to 'read over his rule so oft upon that book until he can construe without it; or else after a time, to try how he can beat it out of himself and be helped by that book where he sticketh.' With these translations, Brinsley calculates a boy can learn his rules, in 'one half of the time.' Such saving of time is valuable in itself, but it also frees the master from much trouble and the scholar from fear and toil. When they fail to remember, they can 'soon recover themselves.' But Brinsley also considers that this method helps the knowledge of English. It improves true English orthography 'so the masters shall be freed from fear of that mischief, of these little ones forgetting to read English, when they first learn Latin, and from the clamors and accusations of their parents in this behalf, spoken of before.'

Brinsley advocates learning rules in verse. The quantities are thus kept right and pupils are helped themselves to make verses more easily. Let them then learn verses of rules, by reading them over in 'a kind of singing voice and turning over our verse until they can say that, then another; and so forward.' The minuteness of detail which he gives as to the construing of the rules, shows the burden it was to the schools of his time, in learning the Grammar presented in Latin. He pursues, as in the Accidence, the even tenour of his way, by

[1] These are the *Propria quae maribus*: i.e. the first words of Lily's section: *De Nominum Generibus substantivorum Regulae.*

The *As in praesenti*, i.e. the first words of Lily's section in the Grammar: *De verborum Praeteritis et supinis.*

The *Syntaxis*: Concordances and constructions of parts of speech.

Qui mihi: the beginning of Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*, *see* p. 107.

expounding at length, and in detail, the method of 'apposing,' the ceaseless testing of question and answer, both in the English and in the Latin of the Rules. The questions are asked in the course of the lesson both in English and in Latin, and answered by the pupil in the language corresponding to the question. In examining the Syntax, Brinsley decides it is best to do it in Latin, 'for by that time they will be well able to do it, if they be rightly trained up.' He adds: 'And it will much help them, to speak and to parse in Latin.' He is insistent on demanding the statement of the 'force of the example.' For instance, when dealing with the adjectives which signify desire, in saying *Est natura hominum novitatis avida*, the pupil is to repeat, *avida novitatis*; after *crescit amor nummi quantum (ipsa) pecunia crescit*, to repeat *amor nummi*. His advice is, constantly ask: *Da exemplum ubi est vis regulae*. The pupils get into the very life of the examples, and will benefit greatly in their readiness in keeping in their minds, sure patterns for all 'parsing, making, and trying Latin.'

For Brinsley esteems it a great commendation to have the Grammar *ad unguem*. Most scholars when they come to the Universities, he says, forget the perfectness in their Grammars, and most learned men cannot say rules. This state of things is only tolerable if they have a full understanding and remembrance sufficient for 'resolving, writing, and speaking,' but they can hardly be compared with the man whose knowledge is so exquisite in the Grammar, that 'it is as a dictionary in his mind.'

Brinsley is well aware that his method of teaching accidence and grammar by close questioning is no new one. The difficulty, of course, is that everyone is not a good questioner. A teacher may not even have the full knowledge to justify him in encouraging too much questioning. The method of examining the Accidence 'should be set down by question and answer,' so Spoudeus suggests, that 'not only the weakest schoolmaster, amongst us, but even our scholars themselves

might be able to appose and whet one another.' Some of the books already existent, Spoudeus has seen and tried, but the questions and answers as stereotyped have not fitted in with the work he was doing, and he has had to give them up. Philoponus, who represents Brinsley, states that he has himself endeavoured by the help of all[1] such books of Questions and Answers, on accidence and grammar as are extant, which he could procure, to compile one which should have all the Questions and Answers arising most directly out of the words of the rules.

Hoole[2], in his grammar-teaching, shows considerable advance on Brinsley's method. At any rate he is more explicit in his combination of the teaching of grammar in conjunction with reading and writing Latin. He recognises still more clearly the 'great disproportion betwixt a child's capacity and the accidence itself.' He has not the same confidence in explaining 'the reason' of grammar rules. We learn English truly and properly by 'daily use and imitation of others' without understanding a 'definition of what grammar is, or anything else concerning it.' Children may do the same with Latin. The problem is not met by a multiplication of 'facile grammars.' The thorough use of one complete Grammar, to which all others can be referred and compared, is sufficient, '*especially after the language is somewhat gained.*' Brinsley had protested against boys learning Latin before they could read and write well. Hoole emphasises the point: 'Alas, poor child, how should he be made to go that wants his legs? If he goes on crutches, it is but lamely. How should he be taught grammar that cannot write at all? I wish they that take upon themselves to teach boys grammar before they can write, would but take upon themselves the trouble to teach one to speak well that

[1] Particularly he commends the order of questions of the book of 'that ancient schoolmaster, Master Brunsword of Maxfield (? Macclesfield) in Cheshire, "who cometh nearest to the mark".'

[2] *New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching*, 1660, in the section on the Usher's Duty.

cannot speak at all.' Hoole is as careful in the first steps as Brinsley in teaching the Accidence. But he quotes Mulcaster as saying that the Grammar is but a 'bare rule' and a 'very naked thing.' 'It is one thing to speak as a grammarian and another thing to speak like a Latinist.' Hence like Mulcaster, Hoole requires that the boy 'should have his reading perfect and ready in *both the English and Latin tongues*, and write a fair hand before ever he dream of his grammar.' Hoole's grounding, then, in the declensions and verbs is as thorough as Brinsley could wish. *But, concurrently, reading of Latin is to go on.* The *Orbis Pictus* or a cheaper book is to be used, to obtain a vocabulary, and a chapter read every day. Half a year is thus to be spent over the first parts of the Accidence and how to call things by their Latin names, making use of a vocabulary. Another half year over the second part, will complete the knowledge of the Accidence. As the *Vocabulary* is to be learned with the first part of the Accidence, so the *Sententiae pueriles* is to be joined with the second part, which they should have in Latin and in English. The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments are to be learned first in English, then in Latin from the first entrance into the Grammar School. Thus in one year's time, the first Form of a school should acquire the perfect use of the Accidence and the knowledge of Latin words and how to vary them. The child is supposed to enter the Grammar School at 7 years of age.

In the second Form, the boys are to learn the rules of the genders of nouns and of the past tenses and supines of verbs[1]. But, says Hoole, as 'the main end of grammar is speaking Latin,' there must be frequent perusal of vocabularies for common words and colloquies for familiar phrases. So they must in this second Form make use of *Cato* and *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae both in English and Latin*, and later, also,

[1] As contained in Lily's Grammar, in the *Propria quae maribus*, *Quae genus* and *As in Praesenti* respectively.

of *Corderii Colloquia*. They still keep up with the Latin and English of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, and add the Assembly's Catechism first in English, then in Latin. In this second Form the boys are to translate a verse at home regularly from the 119th Psalm, and lest they should 'blur and spoil' their Bibles, it is better to have it and 'other Englishes' printed by themselves with an alphabetical Index of every word in the passages.

Hoole remarks that boys were ordinarily taught the Latin syntaxes before they used in addition any other book in their Latin work. Already in Form I and Form II, Hoole has introduced other Latin books. In Form III, for daily reading every morning after prayers, the boys are to read four or six verses from the *Latin Testament*. The translation will be easy for they can use the English version, and accordingly the book will prove valuable not only for construing but for supplying examples and tests in analysis and knowledge of constructions. More forward and keener boys should be encouraged to provide themselves with Gerard's *Meditations*, Thomas à Kempis, St Augustine's *Soliloquies*, or his *Meditations*, 'which they may buy both in English and Latin, and continually bear about in their pockets to read at spare times.' The other reading for this Form consists of Æsop's *Fables*, *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Janua Linguarum*, and Mantuan's *Eclogues*.

For Colloquies, they now read Helvicus's Collection of *Colloquia*, a selection from Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives and Schottenius. Instead of reading Mantuan, at times they may read Castalion's (i.e. Sébastien Castellion) *Dialogues*. They are also to translate Perkins' *Six Principles*, the text-book for religious knowledge of the Form, into Latin. This programme is intended for children in the year from nine to ten, by which time they should have acquainted themselves with the 'whole body of the grammar.' Hoole's special contribution to the teaching of grammar is his emphasis on the desirability of its close connexion with increased reading of Latin.

He illustrated his method by the publication of *An Easie Entrance to the Latin Tongue* (1651) and *The Latin Grammar Fitted for the Use of School* (also 1651).

Note.

The School Authors recommended by Charles Hoole for Forms I, II and III in his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*. 1660.

The First Form.

An English Bible or Testament. The authorised version was prepared in 1607–10.

The Accidence. Hoole's own editions of the Accidence appeared; the *Terminationes et Exempla*, and the *Propria quae Maribus* in 1650, The Common *Accidence examined* in 1659, *Examinatio grammatica*, 1660.

Sententiae pueriles, i.e. Hoole's *Sentences for children*, 1658.

The Principles of Christianity: Six Principles. William Perkins. *See* p. 303 (bottom).

Orbis Pictus (of Comenius). Hoole's own translation appeared in 1659.

The Common Rudiments of Latin Grammar. Hoole's book with this title was published in 1659.

A little Vocabulary English and Latin. Hoole's book with this title was published in 1657.

The Second Form.

Lilies Grammar.

Cato. Brinsley's translation of the Distichs was published in 1622, that of Hoole in 1659.

In 1483 Wm Caxton translated Cato from French into English. Wynkyn de Worde published an edition in 1514 and W. Copland in 1558. In 1562 Richard Taverner edited the *Disticha Moralia*. An edition was published in 1572, and in 1584 there was a translation from Corderius's French edition. In 1636 Sir Richard Baker published *Cato Variegatus, or Catoes Moral Distichs translated and paraphrased in English verse.*

Pueriles Confabulatiunculae or Children's Talk (Hoole's own edition), 1659.

Corderii Colloquia. Brinsley's translation 1614, that of Hoole, 1657.

The Assemblies Catechism. The official standard of belief of the Presbyterians known as the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in two forms—the Larger Catechism (presented to the House of Commons Oct. 22, 1647), the Shorter Catechism (presented Nov. 25, 1647). The Shorter Catechism was devised for such 'as are of weaker capacity.' (For a fuller account see Chambers' *Encyclopaedia*, III. p. 4, ed. 1889, and for a comprehensive history A. F. Mitchell: *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (1886).)

As to *Propria quae Maribus* see above under *Accidence* (Form I).

An Easie Entrance to the Latin Tongue. Hoole's own book of this title published in 1651.

The Third Form.

Æsopi Fabulae. Hoole's own translation of Æsop's *Fables* was apparently not published till 1700. William Bullokar had published his *Æsop's Fablz, in tru Ortography*...translated out of Latin into English in 1585. 8vo.

The first printed translation was from French to English by William Caxton, 1483.

Janua Linguarum. For the various English translations see under Comenius.

Castalionis Dialogi, i.e. Dialogorum Sacrorum lib. IV. published at Geneva in 1543 (1st book) and in the same year the 2nd book. The 4 books published together in one vol. at Basle in 1551. Editions were published in London in 1573 and 1580. In 1610 was published *Good and True, A Holy collection made out of the Old and New Testament. Divided into foure Bookes of Conference or Discourse. Accompanied with pithy Sentences, as Morall Observations upon every Dialogue.* Printed for Henry *Rockit.* 8vo.

'But if instead of Mantuan you think good sometimes to make use of *Castalion's Dialogues*, you may first make them read the history in the Bible by themselves apart, and then hear them construe it dialogue-wise pronouncing every sentence as pathetically as may be, afterward' (Chas. Hoole).

See, further, as to Castellion's *Dialogues*, Chap. XX.

Mantuan.

'Which is a poet both for style and matter very familiar and grateful to children, and therefore read in most schools' (Charles Hoole).

Mantuanus.

Baptist Spagnuoli the Mantuan was born in 1448 and died in 1516. He was a Carmelite for many years but retiring in 1513, gave himself up

to the *belles-lettres* entirely. The Duke of Mantua erected to his memory a marble statue crowned with laurel, and placed it next to that of Vergil, and even Erasmus went so far as to say that a time would come when Baptist Mantuan would not be placed much below his illustrious countryman. His best known poems are the Eclogues—but he wrote poems of every description. The 2nd edition (the 1st was undated) was a folio issued at Bologne in 1502. The Paris edition of 1513 contains commentaries by Brant and Ascensius. There were editions of the Eclogues published in London in 1573, 1582, 1627—and translations of the Eclogues appeared in English in 1567 by George Turbervile and in 1656 by Thomas Harvey.

Helvici Colloquia.

'Which are selected out of those of Erasmus,' Ludovicus Vives and Schottenius' (Charles Hoole). Christophorus Helvicus (1581–1616), a youthful prodigy, was professor at Giessen from 1605 and reputed a good grammarian and skilful teacher. His most famous work was the *Theatrum historicum* (or System of Chronology) published at Giessen in 1609; the 5th edition was published at Oxford in 1651.

The Assembly's Catechism in Latin.

A Latin version of both the Longer and the Shorter Catechism appeared at Cambridge in 1656, and was reprinted there in 1659.

Perkin's six principles.

Full title: *The Foundation of Christian Religion gathered into sixe Principles. And it is to bee learned of ignorant people that they may be fit to hear Sermons with profit, and to receive the Lord's Supper with comfort.* 1591. Editions also in 1606, 1629, 1633 and as late as 1677. Brinsley lays great stress on the importance of pupils making abstracts of the sermons heard—and it may justly be said that the importance of sermon-hearing in those days, in the education of the young, could hardly be over-estimated. William Perkins (1538–1602) was a most esteemed and prolific writer. His works fill three large folio volumes.

Gerard's Meditations.

John Gerhard (1582–1637). From 1616 onwards professor of divinity at Jena, spoken of favourably by both Catholics and Protestants. The book was written in Latin: *Johanni Gerhardi Meditationes Sacrae* etc.

Editions printed in England were:

Oxoniae, 1633 12mo. Londini, 1672 12mo.

Thomas de (sic) Kempis.

Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471) was born at Kempen near Düsseldorf. His surname was Hämmerlein, but he has become known by the name of

his town. He wrote a number of works, amongst them two for the young —viz. *A Manual of Doctrine for the Young* and *A Manual for Children*. Other books of his are *The Garden of Roses*, *The Valley of Lilies*, *The Soul's Soliloquy*. For a discussion whether the *Imitation of Christ* was written by Thomas à Kempis see an article by Prof. T. M. Lindsay in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIV. p. 33. Also a volume by S. Kettlewell: *The Authorship of De Imitatione Christi*, 1877. The 1st edition of the *Imitatio* is dated Augsburg, 1471. For a bibliography of the editions *see* Percy H. Fitzgerald: *The World's Own Book*, 1895.

Sancti Augustini Soliloquia.

1484. *Incipit liber Soliloquiorum beati Augustini.* Printed at 'Winderperg.'

Afterwards, many editions. In 1621 *The Booke of S. Augustin, Bishop of Hyppon, commonly called his Soliloquies.* (Translated into English by A. Batt.) Laurence Kellam: Doway, 1621. 12mo.

Hoole says of the three books last named:

'Those children that are more industriously willing to thrive may advantage themselves very much by the perusal of *Gerard's Meditations*, Thomas de Kempis, St Augustine's *Soliloquies*, or his *Meditations* or the like pious and profiting books which they may buy both in English and Latin, and continually bear about in their pockets to read at spare times.'

Hampton's Prosodia construed.

Barnabas Hampton's *Prosodia construed, and the meaning of the most difficult words therein contained, plainly illustrated; Being an addition to the construction of Lilies rules and of like necessary use. London* 1704 (the earliest edition in Brit. Mus., though it must have been issued before 1660. Also 1714, 1751, 1765, 1790).

CHAPTER XIX.

LATIN-SPEAKING, WITH AN EXCURSUS ON PLAY-ACTING IN SCHOOLS.

'All men covet to have their children speak Latin.'
Ascham's *Scholemaster*, Mayor's edition, p. 7 (1863).

For the educated man of the Mediaeval and Renascence times, Latin was a spoken language. Ascham protested against the speaking of Latin too early, because now (1570) 'commonly, in the best schools in England, for words, right choice is smallie regarded, true propriety wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, and barbariousness is bred up so in young wits.' This protest against 'barbarism' is a note heard all through the period in which Latin-speaking was the aim of Latin-teaching in the schools. But Ascham and the other protesters never flinched from the direct purpose of bringing pupils to speak the Latin 'tongue,' as they significantly called it: they agreed in the aim, but they differed from current practice as to the best means of accomplishing that aim. Sir Thomas Elyot in the *Gouvernour* in 1531, had urged the same plea as Ascham, thinking that the child need only begin the study of the classics at seven years of age, but Elyot would have him begin with Greek authors, and in the meantime (i.e. from seven years of age onwards) 'use the Latin tongue as a familiar (i.e. in household matters) language.' Both Elyot and Ascham realised, as did Montaigne later, that the real difficulty is, in both the household and the school, that the child should only have those about him, who speak Latin correctly and elegantly, lest he should contract the habit of using loose and inelegant expressions in his speech. Those writers who afterwards advocated the teaching of the vernacular

as well as the Latin tongue, had to utter the same word of warning with regard to all early speaking of the infant. The essential change in school teaching of Latin in the Renascence spirit from the Mediaeval period, is the emphasis on the reproduction of accuracy in the imitation of classical Latin. The Renascence view was expressed in the pathetic regret of Sturm that the old Roman child had such an enviable start in his surroundings in attaining a knowledge of the learned language, for it was his vernacular; and in learning Greek, since he could learn it more readily from his vernacular, and he was nearer in time to its use. The great aim of the really educated man was to speak Latin as Cicero, or at least as Terence, spoke it. The only way to do so, was by having surroundings of household, friends, teachers, by means of whom, consciously or unconsciously an atmosphere of immediate imitation might be secured for the child to speak his Latin as directly as he learned his vernacular, and far more correctly. All, however, tyro and scholar, must go back and establish their linguistic basis on the ancient authors of Rome and Greece. For both linguistic and literary purposes, 'a return to the ancients' was the only pedagogical salvation.

The import, however, of the great change of the Renascence, is not that through its influence Latin became a spoken language amongst scholars and professional men. It had been so all through the Middle Ages.

As Mr Leach[1] says: 'The diplomatist, the lawyer, the civil servant, the physician, the naturalist, the philosopher, wrote, read, and, to a large extent, spoke and perhaps thought in Latin. Nor was Latin only the language of the higher professions. A merchant, or the bailiff of a manor wanted it for his accounts; every town clerk or guild clerk wanted it for his minute book. Columbus had to study in Latin for his voyages; the general had to study tactics in it. The architect, the musician, every one who was neither a mere soldier nor a mere handicraftsman wanted, not a smattering of grammar, but a

[1] *English Schools*, 1546–48, p. 105.

living acquaintance with the tongue, as a spoken as well as a written language.' If thus, University and professional conditions needed an adequate knowledge of spoken as well as written Latin we can form a judgment as to the educational effects generally. For it is a well-known educational principle that practical movements in schools and other institutions are more effectively stirred by standards that permeate from the top downwards than *vice versa*.

While thus the Renascence aim of Latin-speaking was in direct continuity with the Mediaeval aim, a great difference has to be noted in its standards. The Mediaeval round of authors read, or even known, was very restricted. The curriculum of the school of S. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street, where Dean Colet was entered c. 1476, as sketched by Dr Lupton[1], was probably no more extensive than the following:

An A B C book.

Latin Grammar, probably *Doctrinale* of Alexander Dolensis[2] or Editio Secunda of Aelius Donatus.

Cato's *Distichs*, and possibly Æsop's *Fables*, some selections from Terence and Vergil.

Or, again, earlier still, in the 15th century, take Mr Leach's sketch[3] of the curriculum for Winchester:

Priscian.

Doctrinale of Alexander of Villedieu.

Catholicus.

Garlande and a *Graecismus* (of Eberhard?).

With conditions of entrance—ability to read plain-song and a knowledge of Donatus.

The significance of the Renascence influence on the schools therefore, was the enormous influx of accessible material of classical authors, and of the whole new world of classical apparatus and criticism. The standard of variety and

[1] *Life of Colet*, p. 21.

[2] Otherwise known as Alexander of Villedieu (or de Villa Dei).

[3] *History of Winchester*, p. 161.

accuracy of imitation of the old classical Latin and Greek was thus made available for linguistic purposes. The phrases of Terence and Cicero were collected into Thesaurus after Thesaurus, and filtered into the schools in innumerable phrase-terms. On the other hand, within the limits of knowledge of the Mediaeval schoolmaster, the fact that most of the knowledge obtained was from oral rather than written sources, must have given practice and facility in Latin-speaking, though it is easy to see the absence of the standards of printed text-books of all kinds must have increased the vogue of 'barbarisms' and inaccuracies of expression. This naturally aroused the disgust and contempt of the keenly-awakened wits of the Renascence writers in their revival of the 'veray Romane eloquence.'

Naturally, the speaking of Latin finds its most conspicuous tradition in the Universities.

'Every student,' says Dr Peacock[1], 'was presumed upon his admission to the College to be acquainted with the elements of the Latin language. It was forbidden by the Elizabethan Statutes to teach Latin Grammar in any College (except to the choristers of King's, Trinity, St John's) probably with a view to prevent the admission of unqualified students. The statutes of Clare Hall, King's Hall, permitted the use of the French as well as the Latin language. In the more ancient statutes of Merton College, where Latin alone is allowed to be spoken, the grammar master is directed to correct the blunders which were made, and to assist the speakers when in difficulties.' Latin-speaking was required from Scholars under penalties at the institution of new Scholarships in the University of Oxford in 1679[2].

So too with regard to Determination[3], nine days of disputa-

[1] Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge*, p. 4, *note*.

[2] The Statutes for Somerset Scholars drawn up in 1679 require 'The said Scholars shall at their admission speak the Latin tongue in their public and private conferences with one another, under the penalty of two pence for every default.'

[3] Anstey, *Mun. Ac.* p. lxxxv.

tion from 9 a.m. to 12 a.m. and again 1 p.m. till 5 p.m. must have been a severe test. 'The whole process was entirely in Latin viva voce, written examinations being apparently never even thought of, and practically next to impossible in those days, in no small degree from the paucity of materials for manuscript exercise and the scanty accommodation in the schools. Each candidate in his turn stood up before the master, who proceeded to *pose* him, subject however to the interference and control of the Proctors and Chancellor, or the candidates disputed in pairs by turns, corrected and called to order by the presiding master'—all in Latin.

Latin then was the language of lectures, the language of examination, and supposed to be the language used between student and student. It was further the language of communication between one University and another. Newly discovered knowledge was thus readily transmitted. The general use of Latin led to what has been termed the 'freemasonry' of learned men. The *ius ubique docendi* theoretically gave the right of teaching in any University of any country and the oral methods of teaching and of disputations were everywhere in Latin.

Similarly, Latin was spoken in the schools.

In the older services of the church, the boy had necessarily moved in a Latin atmosphere, Latin both in school and in church[1]. There were far more ecclesiastics before than after the Reformation, and youths were brought up either in the church or in its precincts[2], to a much greater extent than after the Reformation. In some countries, apparently, the sermons were in Latin, but this does not appear to have been customary in England[3].

[1] H. Latham, *On the Action of Examinations*, p. 117.

[2] Item, ordinatum est quod nullus determinator determinet in aliqua ecclesia, vel alibi quam in scholis Magistri sui, vel saltem in scholis alicujus Magistri artium. Determination took place in churches till it was forbidden in 1408. Anstey, *Mun. Ac.* p. lxxvi.

[3] Before obtaining the B.D. degree at Cambridge the candidate was

The prevalence of Latin as the learned language for speech and writing in University and School was warmly supported by Erasmus and Vives, and the Renascence leaders. The contrary was unthinkable. Both in University circles and outside of them, scholars travelled from one country to another, as Massebieau says, 'with Latin as a passe-partout.'

Erasmus was at home in England, France, Germany and Italy, without having to use the vernaculars. J. L. Vives moved about freely between Valencia, Paris, Lyons, Louvain, Bruges and Oxford. Such men as Erasmus and Vives lived constantly in the company of scholarly men. It is quite clear that Latin was to them, at least what French is to the modern traveller, for purposes of general communication as well as for literary work.

The use of Latin as a means of communication proved of international importance for the Protestant Reformation, and in the time of the Marian persecution (1553–58) the English refugees came into contact with different Protestant nationalities at Strassburg, Frankfort, and Geneva, and continued communications after their return, in Latin.

In short, for the return to antiquity, Latin speech was the first necessity. In the Middle Ages Latin speech had typified the unity of Christendom, but for Valla and the scholars, it represented the unity and solidarity of scholarship, and still more, the only linguistic atmosphere in which antiquity could live again. It was not only the sign and seal of scholarship; it was the very element of literary life. Latin speech was not the goal of linguistic study; it was rather the starting-point.

In England, in 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot in the *Gouvernour*, affirms that if the 'elegant speaking of Latin be not added to other doctrine (i.e. instruction) little fruit may come of the tongue.' Moreover, he considers that noblemen's sons may easily be made familiar with Latin speech if they have

required to preach once in Latin and once in English at St Mary's Church and once likewise at Paul's Cross. Peacock, *Observations*, etc. p. 12.

'none other to serve them or keep them company, but such as can speak Latin elegantly.' The case of Montaigne is well known, whose tutor, parents and servants all spoke to him in Latin in his early years, and who was only allowed to begin to speak in the vernacular at six years of age.

In Corderius's *Colloquies* (Bk II. Colloquy 50) is a sketch of home life[1], where Latin was spoken.

MONTANE, EUSEBIUS.

M.: 'How old art thou?' E.: 'Thirteen, as I have heard of my mother.' Montane explains that he is twelve, but has a brother five years old. E.: 'What sayest thou? Doth he speak Latin already?' M.: 'Why dost thou marvel? We have always a schoolmaster at home, both learned and diligent. He doth teach us ever to speak Latin. He uttereth nothing in French, unless to make something plain. Moreover, we dare not speak to my father except in Latin.' E.: 'Therefore do ye never speak in French?' M.: 'Only with my mother, and at a certain hour, when she commands us to be called unto her.' E.: 'What do ye with the family?' M.: 'We have seldom speech with the family, and indeed only in their passage, and yet the servants themselves do speak to us in Latin.' E.: 'What do the maids?' M.: 'If at any time need requireth that we speak to them we use the vulgar tongue, as we are wont with my mother herself.' E.: 'Oh happy ye who are taught so diligently.'

This probably represents substantially the practice in English families such as those of Sir Thomas More and Sir Anthony Coke, in these cases, for daughters of the family.

The ability to speak Latin must have been general amongst

[1] It has been suggested that this colloquy refers to the home training of Robert Stephanus, the compiler of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1531). But the suggestion in the colloquy that Montane's mother had to be spoken to in French would seem to make it improbable that Stephen is referred to. Robert Stephen married Perrette, daughter of the publisher, Jodocus (Josse) Badius. For an account of the household speaking of Latin *see* Mark Pattison, *Essays*, I. p. 71.

Englishmen who were diplomats, lawyers who had to use Latin in the Inns of Court for their Disputations called mootings and boltings, and ordinarily, for young nobles, or at least their tutors, travelling abroad.

As late as 1671, Edward Leigh, in referring to youth travelling abroad, makes it a condition that 'he hath the Latin tongue.' The large number of English students in foreign Universities probably spoke in Latin amongst their foreign comrades. Thus it is said of Dr William Harvey (1578–1657):

He 'was so good a Latin scholar and during his stay in Italy had acquired such a perfect colloquial knowledge of the language that it is clear he thought with equal facility in Latin or English, so that it is immaterial into which language he puts his ideas[1].'

Dr Thomas Sydenham (1624–89) was also a sound Latinist. On the use of Latin amongst physicians, Dr J. F. Payne says: 'The Registers and Annals of the College of Physicians were kept in Latin up to the end of the 17th century....The annual Harveian oration was given in Latin up to the year 1865....At the hospitals, physicians used to dictate Latin notes of their cases. At the beginning of the 19th century Dr Wells, of St Thomas's Hospital, was noted for the elegance of his Latin as compared with that of his colleagues[2].'

In Divinity, Latin retained its position for theses into the 19th century.

The chief teaching methods for the speaking of Latin, in the 16th and 17th centuries, were founded on principles such as those laid down by Sir Thomas Elyot and Montaigne, viz. the provision of an atmosphere of Latin-speaking.

Eilhardus Lubinus[3] suggested, in 1614, the setting up in Principalities or Kingdoms a *Coenobium* or College, in which

[1] D'Arcy Power, *Life of Harvey*, p. 56.

[2] J. F. Payne, *Life of Sydenham*, p. 211.

[3] In the *Epistolary Discourse* to Lubinus's edition of the New Testament. This Discourse appears in English in *The True and Readie Way to Learn the Latin Tongue*. Edited by Samuel Hartlib, 1654.

the community should consist only of those who are very skilful in speaking Latin, 'pure and Roman,' not only themselves, but also their servants and attendants, even the scullions in the kitchens. This should be a veritable Roman colony. Boys and striplings should be sent to it as to a Forum Romanum. They should there be taught sacred, serious, sportive matters, all in Latin. In such a Roman colony, Latin would be learned no less quickly than formerly in the midst of Rome, when men came out of Greece or other parts of the world to learn it. Lubinus, too, would employ the same device for teaching Greek and Hebrew. All that was wanted was that some 'Emperor, or King, yea, even some Prince or Magistrate in any Commonwealth would in this age vouchsafe to light a taper or torch' to start the enterprise. It is not improbable, that some such project as this might have been before the mind of Comenius, had he come over to England, to establish the College[1], as invited by the English Parliament, just before the Great Civil War, which interfered with the plan. At any rate, Lubinus's idea of a Coenobium was known in England as is shown by a letter of Thomas Horne[2] to Samuel Hartlib in 1652. He would have 'whole towns to be composed only of those who could speak Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Jews should occupy "one colony"; Greeks another. They should bring their families. For Latin, chosen foreigners should be brought over. The expense should be met by diverting the endowment of some present College to this purpose.'

Charles Hoole (1660) clearly understood the teacher's task in the teaching of Latin-speaking. But he saw that teachers were often incompetent to undertake the teaching through their own 'penury' of 'proper words and good phrases.' He regretted that in this respect England was behind the Continent.

[1] The Savoy, Winchester, Chelsea were named for Comenius' College and an inventory of the last made for the purpose.

[2] Translated from Sloane MSS. by Prof. W. H. Woodward in *Otia Merseiana*, 1899.

There is an instance of a most valiant voluntary effort in Latin-speaking on the part of boys in Winchester College.

In 1639, eighteen scholars of Winchester bound themselves in the autumn of 1639 to talk in Latin till the ensuing Pentecost[1].

The Grammar Schools could not have colonies of Latin-speakers so as to train the boys, yet the 'necessity' of having Latin learned as a spoken language was apparent. The following reasons are given by Brinsley:

'To the end to fit them to answer any learned man in Latin or to dispute *ex tempore*: also to train them [i.e. boys] up to be able to speak purely when they come in the Universities; as in some Colleges they are onely to speak Latin: or to fit them, if they shall go beyond the seas, as Gentlemen who go to travel, Factors for Merchants and the like[2].'

In the Note at the end of this chapter are given statutes of some English schools showing the stress laid upon Latin-speaking in the schools. These statutes were difficult to enforce. The expedient was adopted of employing *custodes* or *asini* to bring the boys to speak Latin amongst themselves[3].

[1] Nos, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, Collegii Beatae Mariae Wintoñ prope Winton scholares, memores antiqui moris et disciplinae huius loci, memores Legum Pedagogicarum, memores denique officii et obsequii quod Reverendo Dño Custodi nostro haec a nobis jam saepius postulanti debemus: tandem sancte promittimus nos ab eo tempore quo presenti huic chartae subscripsimus ad festum Pentecostes proxime futurum in scholâ huius Collegii, in aulâ, in cubiculis, in omni denique loco quo convenire unâ et conversari solemus, Latino usuros sermone et non alio, nisi forte ad aliquem habendus sit sermo, qui illius linguae sit penitus ignarus. Quod si qui nostrum aliter sciens volensque fecerit, hunc peccati apud Deum, infamiae apud homines reum esse volumus et haberi.

Ego Gulielmus Ailife libens subscripsi decimo quarto die Octobris Anno Dñi 1639.

Then follow the eighteen names.

T. F. Kirby: *Annals of Winchester College*, p. 325.

[2] *Ludus Literarius*, p. 211.

[3] Any boy found talking in English during lesson time was a 'custos' or dunce (Maxwell-Lyte: *Eton*, p. 147, referring to Malim's *Consuetudines*, 1560).

Brinsley says: 'It is a usual custom in schools to appoint *Custodes* or *Asini*, to observe and catch them who speak English in each form, or whom they see idle, to give them the ferula, and to make them Custodes, if they cannot answer a question which they ask.' The Custodes, Brinsley tells us, often paid more attention to convicting speakers of English than to their work. There was also much resistance and denial of charges.

The two classics impressed into the service specially for training Latin-speaking were Cicero's *Epistolae* and the comedies of Terence. The phrases from these authors were treasured. They were collected into phrase books, as in the Flowers for Latin-speaking gathered out of Terence, and translated by Nicholas Udell, in 1560, whilst the translation of Andria had been printed about 1520. In 1528, in his Statutes for Ipswich School, Wolsey required particular attention to Terence. After stating the facts about the life of Terence and his Comedies, Wolsey suggests the teacher may briefly but perspicuously unravel the substance of the plot; and carefully point out the particular kind of verse. 'Anything proper or improper for imitation should be scrupulously noticed to the young party. Moreover you will pay attention that in play-time the party speak with all possible correctness; sometimes commending the speaker when a phrase is rather apposite, or improving his expression when erroneous.'

At S. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark, Orders, 1614, require: 'On play days the highest Form shall declaim and some of the inferior Forms act a scene of Terence or some dialogue.'

And in 1660, Hoole says, while dealing with the reading of Terence: 'When you meet with an act or scene that is full of affection and action, you may cause some of your scholars—after they have learned it—to act it first in private amongst themselves, and afterwards in the open school before their fellows. Herein you must have a main care of their pronunciation and acting every gesture to the very life. This acting of a piece of comedy or a colloquy sometimes will be an

excellent means to prepare them to pronounce orations with a grace, and I have found it an especial remedy to expel that subrustic bashfulness and unresistible timorousness which some children are naturally possessed withal, and which is apt in riper years to drown many good parts in men of singular endowments.'

Amongst the text-books for Latin-speaking one of the best known was:

Hermes Anglo-Latinus; Or, Directions for young Latinists, to speake Latine purely. London, 1639.

There were other books, such as the one referred to by Charles Hoole:

'They (the pupils) may benefit themselves by reading *Jacobi Pontani Progymnasmata Latinitatis*[1], which will furnish them with good expressions of speaking Latin, and acquaint them with some patterns for exercises which are not elsewhere usually found.'

The recognised school method in the 16th and 17th centuries for teaching Latin-speaking was the Colloquy, though in the later part of the period there was a strong tendency to utilise the numerous phrase books which served the double purpose of training the pupil in the material for writing as well as speaking. Play-acting, the declamation and the oration were also established teaching methods for Latin-speaking in the well-organised schools.

Note to Chapter.

Some[2] Examples of Post-Reformation School Rules, Orders, Statutes for Speaking Latin.

Manchester Grammar School, 1524.

'Item, that the school-master and usher shall cause all scholars learned in grammar, at all times to use and speak the Latin tongue within the school, and other places convenient.'

[1] This was a Jesuit school-book, 1590.

[2] This list contains examples of Statutes etc. requiring Latin-speaking in schools in towns of varying size, in different parts of the country, and at different dates. The list is typical, not comprehensive.

True copy of the Foundation of Manchester School, dated April 1, 1524, in the 16th year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, 1791, ed. p. 67.

Bury St Edmunds, c. 1550.

'Latin to be continually spoken.'

Giggleswick, 1553–92.

'He (i.e. the master) shall not use in school any language to his scholars which be of riper years and proceedings, but onely the Latin, Greek and Hebrew, nor shall he willingly permit the use of the English tongue in the school to them which are or shall be able to speak Latin.'

Guisborough Grammar School (*Yorkshire*), 1561.

'The Scholars of the Third and Fourth Forms shall speak nothing within the School-house but Latin, saving only in the teaching of the lower Forms.'

Tonbridge. Charter granted 1553. *Statutes drawn up by Alex. Nowell*, 1564.

'Item, I will that the Master and Usher do usually speak in the Latin tongue to their scholars that do understand the same.'

Oundle School, 1566.

'That the Master and Usher do usually speak in the Latin tongue to their scholars that do understand the same; and likewise one scholar to another, as well in the school as coming and going to and from the same.'

Rivington Grammar School (*Statutes*, 1566).

'In the School they that can must speak nothing but Latin, and the younger sort must learn every day to amend.'

Again, in the same Statutes:

'The schoolmaster shall see that his scholars speak Latin diligently in all their talk and places; and the Usher shall likewise, so much as is possible. But at the least the Usher shall examine them that be under him, himself, and teach them what every thing shall be called in Latin, and see that one of them shall often appose another in such like words.'

A third admonition is given in the same Statutes, requiring daily practice by the boys in speaking Latin, 'as their wits will serve.'

Friars' School (*Bangor*), 1568.

'Item, They shall use to speak Latin as well without the school, as within.'

Dronfield, 1579.

Latin Scholars to be 'corrected' with the ferula for speaking English.

Same regulation in almost same words, Chigwell Statutes, 1629.

Harrow rules, 1580.

'None above the first form shall speak English in the School or when they are together at play, and for that and other faults also, there shall be

two monitors appointed, who shall give up their rolls every Friday in the afternoon, and the Schoolmaster shall also appoint privately one other monitor, who shall mark and present the faults of the other two, and other faults which they either negligently omit, or willingly let slip.'

Sandwich, 1580.

'I ordain that the Master and Usher do usually speak in the Latin tongue to their Scholars that do understand the same.'

Hawkshead, 1585.

'All scholars...shall continually use the Latin tongue or the Greek tongue, within the School as they shall be able.'

King's School, Durham. Orders, 1593.

The boys were required 'to use the Latin tongue in and about the School.'

Heath Grammar School (*near Halifax*), c. 1600.

'The scholars under the master must all speak the Latin tongue.'

Guildford Grammar School, 1608.

'The four chief forms shall in all their speches within the school use the Latin tongue.'

S. Saviour's (*Southwark*). *Orders*, 1614.

'The two upper Forms (formerly four) shall only speak Latin in the school.'

Newport (*Salop*), 1656.

'No Scholars that have attained to such a progress in learning as to be able to speak Latin, shall neither within School or without, when they are among the Scholars of the same or a higher form, speak English. And that the Master shall appoint which are the forms, that shall observe this order of speaking Latin, and shall take care that it be observed, and due correction given to those that do neglect it.'

Wigan, 1664 (similar to Newport, above).

'All Scholars able to speak Latin *neither within the School or without* when they are among the Scholars of the same or a higher rule, speak English. Due correction to be given for those who neglect to observe this rule.'

Excursus on Play-reading and Play-acting in Schools.

Though Cicero's Epistles and Terence were the chief classical authors[1] for phrases, and the dramatic representation

[1] *See* the Chapter on the Latin drama in Prof. C. H. Herford's *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th century*.

allowed to be the best method of declamation of Terence, Plautus was also used for the purpose of colloquial exercise. Thus Alexander Ross in 1646, published the *Colloquia Plautina viginti*, in which he claims to have excerpted all the elegancies of Plautus and adopted them for school use.

Vives says: 'Terence is of importance for daily conversation. Indeed, Cicero made considerable use of his phrases. Cicero's Familiar Epistles are well suited to expedite conversation, for the language is of that pure and simple kind which Cicero used in speaking with his wife, his children, his servants, his friends, at meal times, in the bath, on the couch, in the gardens.'

The colloquy was the familiar and daily method of the teaching of Latin-speaking, whilst the school play was reserved for state occasions. The range of authors for school plays soon went outside of the classical Terence and Plautus. Thus in the Statutes for Sandwich Grammar School, 1580, it is provided that 'at every Christmas time, if the Master do think meet, to have one Comedy or Tragedy of chaste matter in Latin to be played, the parts to be divided to as many scholars as may be, and to be learned at vacant times.'

Acting was an established institution in schools abroad, from early in the 16th century. As Professor Herford says: 'The Rath not unfrequently contributed to the often considerable cost of school plays, and at Strassburg gave them an appointed income from the municipal budget.' Some of the foreign plays found their way to English schools. One of these, the *Acolastus*, written by G. Fullonius at the Hague in Holland in 1529, was translated into English in 1540 by John Palsgrave.

In the epistle dedicatory to the King accompanying his translation Palsgrave says: 'I thought to myself, Shall Fullonius, an Hollander, born thus many hundred years after the decay of the Latin tongue by the Goths, Vandals, and Longobards, three most barbarous nations, utterly corrupted, through

the diligent observation of the pure Latin authors be able to make so fine and so exact a piece of work? And I shall not be able at these years of mine age to do so much as to declare what he meaneth in my native tongue?' Probably this is the first printed translation of a Latin author for school use into English. In substance the plot is that of the Prodigal Son. It may be interesting to quote from the title-page.

Joannis Palsgravi, Londoniensis, Ecphrasis Anglica in comœdiam Acolasti. 'The comedy of *Acolastus*, (is here) translated into our English tongue, after such manner as children are taught in the grammar school, first word for word, as the Latin lieth, and afterward according to the sense and meaning of the Latin sentences: by showing what they do value and countervail in our tongue, with admonitions set forth in the margin, so often as any such phrase—that is to say, kind of speaking used of the Latins, which we use not in our tongue but by other words—express the said Latin manners of speaking, and also adagies, metaphors, sentences, or other figures poetical or rhetorical do require for the more perfect instructing of the learners, and to lead them more easily to see how the exposition goeth....'

The Dedication of the interpretation is to Henry VIII, 'supreme head in earth immediately under Christ, of the Church of England,' by 'his most humble and most obeysaunt Chapleyn, John Palsgrave, bachelor of divinity.'

The contents of the dedication are of high interest in giving a contemporary picture of schools and masters of the time. In the dedication Palsgrave refers to the one uniform Grammar introduced into the schools by Henry VIII, and expresses the desire that 'there might also follow and succeed one steady and uniform manner of interpretation of the Latin authors into our tongue, after that the Latin principles were by your grace's youth once surely conned and perceived.'

He complains of the 'want of a required sufficiency' of knowledge on the part of many 'in private places' who undertake to teach others. Even if they had the least acquaintance with grammatical rules, their knowledge would still be insufficient. He states that some teachers, without regard to the tenderness of children's wits, translate the Latin of an author, '*into other Latin words, instead of pure English words and phrases.*' They thus seem as teachers to have 'knowledge and erudition above the common sort' and at the same time, in reality, they 'not a little hinder their young scholars.' This is due to the 'barbarousness' of the current Latin.

Palsgrave then declares 'the not attempting' of interpretation in other tongues has not proceeded from 'any natural inferiority of our English over foreign people in knowledge.' Robertus Stephanus lately wrote *De Corrupti Sermonis Emendatione*. Nebrissensis[1] laments the notable corruption of Latin amongst the Spaniards. Bebelius[2] called on the Germans to leave their own phrase and take them to the assiduous reading and observing of the good Latin authors. 'I take it,' he says, 'that Bebelius was in manner to the Germans as was Laurence Valla unto the Italians, by whose first exhortation and setting on, so many excellent writers have risen amongst the Italians, within the time of memory.'

Palsgrave's effort was intended to give a lead to the systematic translation of good Latin, not into bad Latin, but into good English.

'I shall think myself not only very well sufficed, but also much fortunate, if this mine enterprise or at the least first setting on, may give occasion unto other your grace's well learned clerks, to fall in hand with such of the Latin authors, as in the judgment of all men be most excellent, and to this purpose most necessary and expedient. So that by their diligent

[1] i.e. Antonio de Lebrija or Lebrixa (*see* p. 273), who wrote a vernacular (Spanish) grammar and dictionary as well as a Latin grammar.

[2] *See* p. 325.

labours may be made such an established marriage between the two tongues, as may be unto such of your grace's subjects, as shall succeed hereafter, not only steady, agreed upon, and permanent, but also an incredible furtherance, to attain the pure Latinity by.'

The most famous collection of foreign plays used in English schools was the *Terentius Christianus* of Cornelius Schonæus, which went through a number of editions in England. In the British Museum there are copies—1595[1] (published by R. Robinson), 1620, 1635, 1674. The edition of 1635 was printed at Cambridge, and is explicitly 'ad usum scholarum seorsum excusa.' In the address to the reader the editor, whose name is not given, says 'that for boys only that which is pure is becoming (as Lily, the eminent English grammarian, says). The style of Terence is pure, but the matter is very often the opposite. What otherwise could you expect from a race wretched in its ignorance of God, the source of true purity?' It was on this account Schonæus endeavoured to clothe in the phrase and elegance of Terence the old Bible stories. At the end of each play (the Cambridge edition only includes Tobæus and Judith, with an appendix of 'Pseudostratiotæ fabula jocosa atque ludicra') is a peroration ending with an invitation to clap:

Valete, et si placuit quod actum est, plaudite.

It is worth noticing that Brinsley (*Ludus Literarius*, p. 221) urges that for learning to speak Latin Corderius should be gone over, and then Terence or *Terentius Christianus*. Melanchthon, in Germany, encouraged *de plein cœur* the introduction of the plays of Terence into schools. 'I exhort[2] schoolmasters to recommend this author in the most pressing way to young students. For he seems to me to form the judgment on affairs of the world better than most of the books

[1] The earliest edition of the *Terentius Christianus* in the British Museum is that published at Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), 1592.

[2] Parker on the 'History of Classical Education,' in *Essays on a Liberal Education*, p. 33.

of philosophers. And no other author will teach the boys to speak Latin with equal purity, or train them to a style which will stand them in better stead.' Here clearly we have the reason why schoolmasters favoured Terence. The same reason, the gaining of colloquial readiness and accuracy, led other schoolmasters to require the acting by boys of plays of Terence and other writers. For instance of the famous Strassburg School, it is said:

'The chief feature of [Sturm's] school[1] is the theatre, on which the elder boys weekly tread the stage, and the younger boys fill the benches. Had Melanchthon foreseen to what length a system of pressing Terence upon the attention of boys might be carried, his recommendation of the poet to schoolmasters would perhaps have been less urgent or more guarded. Though Sturm is careful with Horace and Catullus, his boys play all the pieces of Terence and of Plautus indiscriminately. By dividing the work the whole repertory can be got through in six months. Day after day the actors are busy conning their parts, and week after week they throw themselves, with as much histrionic effect as by imagination or drill they can attain, into the stage characters and theatrical situations which pleased and edified pagan Rome. If Plato's *Republic* had been among the school books of Strassburg, the boys would have understood his remarks on the drama.'

Froude gives an account of a performance by boys of St Paul's School at Greenwich as early as 1527. He describes the play, and gives an inventory of the dresses worn (*Hist.* vol. i. pp. 75–6). Of English authors of school plays the earliest mentioned by Professor Herford is John Ritwyse, Head-master of St Paul's, who wrote *Dido*, which his scholars performed before Wolsey between 1522 and 1532. Ritwyse, by the way, was the son-in-law of the first Head-master of St Paul's School, William Lily, the Grammarian.

[1] Parker on the 'History of Classical Education,' in *Essays on a Liberal Education*, pp. 37–38.

At Eton 'in the long winter nights the boys acted Latin or English plays, written by Nicholas Udall, "the father of English comedy."' Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* is thought to have been written for and acted by the boys at Eton before 1553.

Ben Jonson in the *Staple of Newes* (Act iii. Sc. 2) introduces a satirical passage on schoolmasters. 'They make all their scholars play-boys! Is it not a fine sight to see all our children made interluders? Do we pay our money for this? We send them to learn their grammar and their Terence, and they learn their play-books....I hope Zeal-of-the-Land Busy and my gossip Rabbi Troubletruth will start up, and see we have painful good ministers to keep school and catechise our youth, and not to teach 'em to speak plays and act fables of false newes.'

In the *Chronicle History of the London Stage*[1] accounts are given of Court performances, from which it appears that between 1559 and 1583 nearly as many Court performances were rendered by boys' companies as by those of men. The boys' companies were Paul's Choir, Children of the Chapel Royal, Windsor Choir, Westminster School and Merchant Taylors' School. The plays acted by Paul's Choir include the subjects of Iphigenia, Alcmaeon, Scipio Africanus and Pompey. Among those of Merchant Taylors' School are Timoclea, and Perseus and Andromeda. It is said that Richard Mulcaster composed half-a-dozen Latin plays for St Paul's boys. It is probable also in the provinces that plays were acted to the town by Grammar School boys, e.g. at Southampton, where payments were made by the town authorities to the master for a 'tragedy.'

[1] By F. G. Fleay, pp. 32–33.

NOTE: On the subject of School Plays, *see* article on 'School Plays in Latin and Greek,' by Mr J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, in *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, II. pp. 317–336.

CHAPTER XX.

COLLOQUIES.

M. Massebieau[1] has stated the twofold object of the Colloquy, as a school-exercise intended to spread the training of Latin-speaking, and at the same time to purge conversational Latin of the barbarisms which had developed in Latin speech during the Middle Ages. Massebieau refers to two books to show the incorrect Latinity that was able to pass muster. In the first of these, the *de Abusione linguae latinae* (c. 1500), Henricus Bebelius gives examples of current barbarisms: 'Haec verba, zechare, tibisare, vobisare, avisare, crinisare, bursare,...cipare, deteriorare, appodiare, verba sunt penitus barbara et gouthica, nec digna quae in latini sermonis campo admittantur[2].'

The second book on barbarisms cited by Massebieau is that of Cornelius Crocus, of Amsterdam, who wrote *Farrago sordidorum verborum, sive Augiae stabulum repurgatum*, 1546. This book goes into more of the detail of the barbarisms which had been or were current in speaking Latin.

We have seen that Palsgrave[3] was conscious of the bad Latin spoken by English teachers, for England was as deeply involved in the linguistic slough of despond as other countries. Thus in Dean Colet's statutes for St Paul's School in 1518, it is explicitly stated that only authors are to be taught 'convenient and most to purpose unto the true Latin speech; all barbary, all corruption, all Latin adulterate, which ignorant blind fools brought into this world, and with the same hath distained and poisoned the old Latin speech and very Roman tongue,'...were not to be allowed entrance to the school. He

[1] *Les Colloques Scolaires*, p. 42.

[2] Quoted by Massebieau.

[3] *See* p. 321.

adds: 'I say that filthiness and all such abusion which the later blind world brought in, which more rather may be called blotterature than literature I utterly abbanish and exclude out of this school.'

Reading of good Latinity was Colet's remedy, but schoolmasters found that to produce good Latin speech it was necessary to introduce methods more conducive to easy and familiar conversation. Oral methods were the natural methods of teaching in antiquity, and it is not difficult to believe that the *Colloquia Scholastica*[1], in Latin and Greek, trace their history back to an age in which they were used to teach Greek to Roman boys. In the 8th century, Alcuin taught by question and answer, and his *Dialogue on Rhetoric and the Virtues* and *Disputation of Pippin and Albinus* were written in conversational form.

A *Colloquy* of Archbishop Ælfric[2] is of the 10th century. It was enlarged by Ælfric's pupil, Ælfric Bata. The teacher enters into conversation with all classes of people, the scholar, ploughman, shepherd, oxherd, hunter, fisher, fowler, merchant, shoemaker, salter, baker, cook, smith. Each gives an account of himself and his work. This text-book, in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, as a whole gives a vivid account of life in Anglo-Saxon times, and is by far the most interesting of school text-books left to us from Anglo-Saxon times.

It is thus clear that the Colloquy in the Renascence time entered into the old tradition. Thus, to illustrate from a quarter where we should not perhaps have expected, c. 1500, Symphorion Champier writes in the form of colloquy a *Dyologus singularissimus ... in magicarum artium destructionem. Lugduni.* He explains, 'I have taken the trouble to write in this form, impelled by this reason: "Things are more easily perceived in the first place and afterwards more faithfully retained if they are explained in the form of dialogue."'

Dr Bömer of Münster i. W. has written a detailed history

[1] Stephens' *Thesaurus*, XII. pp. 426–429, ed. 1826–8. The date of these dialogues has not been determined.

[2] For a full account see *Educational Review* (London), June 1898; 'Glimpses of the Anglo-Saxon Boy' by Arthur Watson.

of the Renascence *Colloquies*[1]. The first of the series is the *Manuale Scholarium*, which was composed, Bömer thinks, between 1476 and 1481. The *Manuale* contains dialogues between University students at Heidelberg. Bömer describes collections of dialogues by Paulus Niavis, Andreas Huendern, Laurentius Corvinus, Hadrianus Barlandus, Hermannus Schottennius, Sebaldus Heyden, Jonas Philologus, Jacobus Zovitius, Nicolaus Winmannus, Martinus Duncanus. The other writers whom he names are Erasmus, Peter Mosellanus, Christopher Hegendorffinus, Ludovicus Vives and Maturinus Corderius.

Of the last named five, Mosellanus and Hegendorffinus were less known in England for their *Colloquies* than Erasmus, Vives and Corderius. Yet their Dialogues had been printed in England, as follows:

Paedalogia Petri Mosellani[2] *in puerorum usum conscripta et aucta; dialogi xxxvii. Dialogi pueriles C. Hegendorphini*[3] *xii lepidi aeque ac docti apud Wynkyndum de Worde Londini* 1532.

Mosellanus's *Paedalogia* was originally published at Leipzig in 1518. The Dialogues of Hegendorffinus were first printed at Nürnberg in 1520.

Mosellanus gives interesting details of student-life at Leipzig. He takes scenes from the ordinary life of the scholars, shows the nature of their religious ideas, and their studies. There are sketches of the Leipzig Fair, which meant so much to the students, for then the merchants came, who acted as intermediaries between parents and sons, and brought money or clothes. The students are shown to have led a life

[1] *Die Lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten* in Kehrbach's 'Texte und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Erziehen und des Unterrichts in den Ländern deutscher Zunge.' Berlin, 1897.

[2] Mosellanus was the writer of the Verbal Figures from whom Lily borrowed for that section of his Grammar and the Figures of Mosellanus are set down for the work of Forms VI and VII at Eton in 1561.

[3] Hegendorffinus was author of a text-book on Letter-writing, recommended for use in English schools by Brinsley.

often verging on starvation. Hegendorffinus also describes the hard life of the students, for lack of money and clothing. One student teaches another how to go begging, which appears in the Dialogues of both Mosellanus and Hegendorffinus to have been a common practice. When provided with money, they drink beer, go to the circus and so on. Feasts and processions and merry-making mixed with poverty and hunger; wild spirits and hard study seem to be combined. Cicero and Terence are the classical authors most named and of the modern writers, Erasmus and Melanchthon. The Dialogues are graphic, interesting, and realistic. For forming an idea of German University life early in the 16th century, these Dialogues are very valuable.

Turning to England, it is curious to find that the school Colloquy was not cultivated as a native product, and the foreign text-books adopted were not German. Erasmus, Vives and Corderius (of the authors already named) were the chief writers who proved acceptable in this country. To these must be added the name of Sébastien Castellion[1]. Their influence in the English schools was marked, and as the Colloquy has disappeared in English education[2], the history of the Colloquy text-book is in risk of being overlooked.

The spirit in which the best *Colloquies* were written may be seen from the words of Mosellanus in the Preface to his *Paedalogia*. 'You who find me ridiculous and frown at me, saying: "You waste your paper with these trivialities," forget for a time that you are men; make yourselves children; imagine that you have still to learn to speak Latin, and you will see at once with what ease a pupil may come through imperceptible steps to the purity of Terence, and to the copiousness of Cicero, by means of these little scenes. You

[1] The family name was Chatillon, pronounced Chateillon. This was Latinised as Castalio, and as Castellio. M. Buisson adopts the form Castellion. *See* note, p. 339.

[2] It would appear that there may be some revival of the older *Colloquia* in Latin teaching. *See* notes on p. 331 and p. 345.

would have reproached me, had I made my young actors speak with the scowling wisdom of old men.'

Erasmus, however, had a more ambitious aim in writing his *Colloquia*. He had many things to teach, and the dialogue form gave him scope for teaching all types of human beings, children, men, women, ignorant and learned, the wise and the foolish. Mosellanus was a friend and guide to children and youth; Erasmus was a teacher of men.

The *Colloquies* of Erasmus, Vives, Castellion and Corderius require more detailed notice.

The Colloquia of Erasmus. 1519, editio princeps.

Method of composition. In a letter dated 1536 Erasmus says: 'Some were youthful exercises for the improvement of style; others were dictated as I walked up and down, thinking of nothing less than of publication. Some were written for the benefit of backward pupils. Of this kind were the Colloquies, which one Helenius obtained—I know not how, for I never had a copy by me—and sold at a high price to John Froben, pretending there were other printers who wanted to buy them.'

The *Colloquia* were first printed in 1519, and formed a mere pamphlet. By successive additions, in 1530 they became a book of considerable size. A prefatory letter to Froben's son, Erasmius, was included in 1522.

'As it now lies before us, it consists of a large number of conversations on a great variety of subjects, whose easy flow and natural, graceful manner are not the least of their charms, full of delicate humour, keen irony, biting satire, elegant criticism, and lively description, wherein now a text of Scripture, now a passage from the classics, is made the subject of discussion, now some folly turned into ridicule, now some superstition exposed, while occasional autobiographical touches or allusions to contemporaneous persons or events lend a great additional interest[1].' The subjects of the Colloquies are extremely varied.

In the Dialogue 'The Schoolmaster's Admonitions,' the boy is instructed as to the modesty, civility and manners

[1] Drummond, *Life of Erasmus*, I. pp. 153–4.

becoming his age, in what posture he ought to stand while he talks to his superiors; and what concerns habit, discourse, and behaviour at table and in school. In the Dialogue 'Of Various Plays,' the boys send Cocles, their messenger, to the master to get leave to go to play. The master admits that moderate recreations are necessary for mind and body. The master admonishes boys to keep together at play. Then are discussed stool-ball, bowls, ball and ring, dancing, leap-frog, running, swimming. A further Dialogue discusses hunting. 'The Child's Piety' gives views on religious education. Other Colloquies refer to the whipping master, to saying a lesson, to the bad effect of fear on the memory, to writing, and to making a (quill) pen. In 'The Abbot and the Learned Woman,' the latter is praised for reading Latin and Greek rather than confining herself to French.

In 'Of Things and Words' Erasmus, a hundred years before Comenius, exposes 'the preposterous judgments of some people who are more ambitious of names than they are of the things themselves, to be esteemed than to deserve esteem.' 'The Assembly of Grammarians' ridicules the pretensions of hair-splitters about words. 'The Ars Notoria' derides the vain boastfulness and bold pretence of a certain book promising the knowledge of languages and science in fourteen days' time. In 'The Conflict between Thalia and Barbarism' Erasmus inveighs against the barbarous Latin in those days, commonly allowed and approved, particularly in a great school or college at Zwoll, a town twelve miles from Deventer, where, instead of pure Latin authors, the scholars were put to learn books stuffed with inelegancies and barbarisms.

The outspoken comments of Erasmus on what he regarded as harmful, superstitious and vicious in ecclesiastical matters, especially in the practices of members of religious orders, provoked the wrath of the authorities. It is not surprising that the University of Paris in 1528 forbade the use of the *Colloquia* as a text-book. This, however, only led, as Mr Woodward[1]

[1] *Erasmus*, p. 24. Luther strongly condemned Erasmus's *Colloquia* in the references to religion.

remarks, to 'the almost universal adoption of the *Colloquia* as a school book' in countries influenced by the Reformation. It was the widest circulated book of Erasmus. In 1564, at the Council of Trent, condemnation pronounced by the congregation of Cardinals was confirmed.

Bömer, in his *Lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten*, describes as many as 77 editions of Erasmus's *Colloquies* between 1518 and 1533. Of these only two are English: 1519 and 1525, both published by Wynkyn de Worde under the title *Erasmi colloquiorum formulae.* In Mr Gordon Duff's Handlists of English Printers, editions are also named printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1520 and 1522.

Erasmus's *Colloquies*[1] were required by Statute to be read at the English Grammar Schools of East Retford, Form II (1552), Cuckfield, Form III (1529), Bangor, Form II (1568), Durham, Harrow (1590), Winchester[2], Rivington (1564).

The Exercitatio of J. L. Vives, 1539.

Bömer gives a list of over 100 editions of these Colloquies, distributed from printing presses in France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Spain and even Mexico. The book was treated almost as a classic. Vocabularies were provided for the Latin and the vernacular, at any rate, in France, Italy, Germany and Spain. Vives had included all the expressions and names of things likely to be wanted by the school-boy, and indeed the scholar. Hence, it was necessary to have the Latin explained in the vernacular in the countries mentioned above, but not in England. Peter Motta in 1548 explained the numerous Greek terms, which were the glory of the book, in an age when Greek was beginning to gather strength even in the school-room. Motta's commentary reappeared in most

[1] Mr G. M. Edwards has recently edited two volumes of selections from Erasmus's *Colloquia*, under the titles of *Colloquia Latina* and *Altera Colloquia Latina.*

[2] The date of the document from which the reference to the use of Erasmus's *Colloquia* at Winchester is taken is c. 1550. It was read in Book (i.e. Class) IV, 2. (Leach, *Winchester College*, p. 273.)

of the editions, giving Motta a reputation in connexion with the book second only to Vives. In 1553 Aegidius de Housteville added to the edition he brought out at Paris, a commentary, together with a translation of the hard words into French. In 1554 was the remarkable Mexican edition of Cervantes Salazar, fully described by Massebieau[1]. In 1582, when the *Exercitatio* had already had a school-text life of over 40 years, John Thomas Freigius, Rector of the Gymnasium at Altdorf, brought his extensive knowledge to the service of the book, and gave it an added value to the student studying old school-texts to-day.

The *Exercitatio* was used in English schools, for instance:

1. *At Eton.* About 1561. (Malim's *Consuetudines.*)

Monday and Tuesday the Usher to read:

Forms III. Terence.
II. Terence also.
I. Vives.

The use of these authors is explained thus: 'From these readings boys gather flowers, phrases, or expressions of speech; also antitheta, epitheta, synonyma, proverbia, similitudines, comparationes, historias, descriptiones, temporis, loci, personarum, fabulas, dicteria, schemata, et apophthegmata.'

So again on Wednesday and Thursday the Usher is to read:

Forms III. *Selectas per Sturmium Ciceronis epistolas.*
II. Luciani *Dialogos.*
I. Ludovicum Vivem.

Provision was thus made at Eton for four periods a week of Vives, and there is no doubt that the book of Vives meant is the *Exercitatio.*

2. *At Westminster.* In 1621–1628, there is an account, usually ascribed to Archbishop Laud, of the studies, but supposed to be grounded on the curriculum fixed about 1560.

[1] *Les Colloques Scolaires*, pp. 178–203.

In Form I was read:

Disticha of Dionysius Cato.

Exercitatio Linguae Latinae of J. L. Vives.

Dialogues and *Confabulationes Pueriles*.

3. *At Shrewsbury*. Thomas Ashton was the first Headmaster at Shrewsbury 1562–1568. Among the school-books used in the school for Latin Prose are mentioned[1] Tully, the *Commentaries* of Caesar, Sallust, Livy and 'two little books of Dialogues drawn out of Tully's *Offices* and Ludovicus Vives, by Mr Thomas Ashton.'

4. In the Statutes for Rivington Grammar School, 1564, is enjoined that after scholars have been exercised in learning Latin words and rules, and in declining words, 'the Usher shall use them to learn some short, wise sentences out of Ludovicus Vives or Cato.'

The study of the contents of Vives' *Exercitatio* justifies its popularity. It deals with the daily life of the school-boy at school, at home, in the town. It considered his interests minutely. It concerns itself with his work, and still more with his play. It deals with the trifling incidents of the lesson, but it penetrates also into the relations of the boy with his home; his father, mother, sisters and brothers. It is alive with a sense of the surroundings of the boy. It recounts the building of a new house, or describes a cookshop and kitchen in the town. It gives the entrée to a royal palace and to the education of a prince. But even when Vives goes to far away subjects, he takes his boyish spirit with him. The boy has aspirations in knowledge of common things, and with the true spirit of an educator, Vives recognises that the boy is interested also in uncommon subjects of discourse. The subject-matter may be remote, but it is never dull. It begins not only from what is known, but also from what is thoroughly familiar.

[1] G. W. Fisher, *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, p. 43.

Put in modern terms, Vives understands the paedagogical principle of *Heimatkunde* and adaptation to ever widening environments. Moreover, he first brings to self-consciousness and expression the most vital of the boy's own experiences, and then adds what he anticipates will be most interesting amongst the untrodden paths of knowledge of the world. He understands that the world of scholarship, of courts, and even intellectual ideals (of fitting kind) are within the boy's mental ken, if they are permeated with what appeals to boyish fancy. Vives unconsciously has studied the apperception basis of knowledge. But most impressive of the merits of Vives' Colloquies is the penetration he shows into the nature of boys. Vives was a scholar amongst scholars. He finds his place in scholarship by the side of the foremost of his age: Erasmus and Budaeus[1]. The Tudor boy did not object to him on that score; he admired him for it. But the schools were drawn to use Vives' *Exercitatio*, when they forsook far more learned works written perhaps by far less learned authors. Vives had the power of detaching himself from his learning, or rather, whilst he could be a boy among boys, he was able to infuse the intellectual spirit into the boyish atmosphere. The value of the *Exercitatio* may be gauged by the hesitation the reader feels in deciding whether the book is a boy's book or a scholar's book. The *Exercitatio* is a clever book because it recognises that the school is *ludus literarius*, and at the same time it does not degenerate into frivolity. It has considerable dramatic merit. The boys who are introduced as interlocutors have characters of their own. They say the right things at the right point. Vives is an educationist, and takes good care they

[1] 'Vives,' says Chalmers (*Biog. Dict.*, xxx. p. 409), 'was one of the most learned men of his age; and with Budaeus and Erasmus, formed a triumvirate, which did honour to the republic of letters. Their admirers have ascribed to each their peculiar qualities in which they supposed him to exceed the other; as, wit to Budaeus, eloquence to Erasmus, judgment to Vives, and learning to them all.'

speak their Latin correctly. His introduction of Greek words, a practice of which he is particularly fond, gives a fillip, instead of being an infliction. The Tudor boy felt he was treated seriously. One might almost say that Vives had anticipated Herbart's suggestion of the picking up of Greek words by the young child in studying Homeric stories. Or, still more clearly, we may note the sympathy Vives would feel with Sir Thomas Elyot's suggestion in the *Gouvernour*, of learning Greek and Latin simultaneously from the early age of seven.

Interesting as are the questions which arise in studying Vives' *Exercitatio* as a text-book for school-boys, it must be said that it is not merely as a document indicating school-methods of teaching (though it has distinct value in this aspect) that the book claims attention. The Dialogues serve the purpose, in a high degree, of giving indirectly and unconsciously, pictures of the school life of the period. They are written by a man full of love for children, and afford living presentation of what was likely to appeal to the school-boy, because he was awakened to the surroundings of his own life and thought—brought often though it was to the transfigured plane of scholarship.

The subjects of the Dialogues of Vives are: Getting up in the Morning, Getting Dressed, Morning Greetings, Going to School, and Events on the way to School, Reading, Writing, Return Home, and Children's Play, Card Playing of Elder Youths, and the Laws of Playing, School Meals, Students' Chatter, Journey on Horseback[1], A Description of the School and Work there, A Student at his Study at night.

Dealing with life outside the school are the following: A new House, A Cook and the Kitchen, A Dining Room, A Grand Banquet, Drunkenness, The King's Palace, A young Prince[2], The Exterior of Man's Body, and lastly Dialogues on Education and on the Precepts of Education.

[1] Which is, as we should say, a School or Academic Journey.

[2] An account of Prince Philip, afterwards husband of Queen Mary of England.

Bömer[1] says: 'Wherever we may be with Vives (in his Colloquies) he knows how to fasten our attention. We never lose the pleasure of listening to conversations rich in thought, made spicy at the right moments with pointed wit so that we are obliged to make an effort to understand the separate words. Most of the persons introduced are characters painted off with a couple of strokes.' In other words Vives, serious man that he is, has the saving grace of humour.

Let us leave Vives' *Exercitatio* with a passage from the Dialogue 'Getting up in the Morning.'

Beatrix the nurse, Emanuel, Eusebius.

Beatr. 'May Jesus Christ awake you from the sleep of all vice. Oh, you boys, are you ever going to wake up to-day?'

Euseb. 'I don't know what has fallen on my eyes. I seem to have them full of sand.'

Beatr. 'That is always your morning song—quite an old one. I shall open both the wooden and the glass windows, so that the morning shall strike brightly on your eyes from both. Get up.'

(The boys then dress, the whole process being described in detail, Beatrix having great difficulty in hurrying them forward, amid an interchange of witty sparring.)

Beatr. 'Come, give me a kiss. Kneel down before this image of our Saviour and say the Lord's Prayer and the other prayers, as you are accustomed, before you step out of your bedroom. Take care, my Emanuel, that you think of nothing else while you are praying. Stay a moment, hang this little handkerchief from your girdle so that you can blow and clean your nose.'

Eman. 'Now, am I sufficiently prepared, in your opinion?'

Beatr. 'You are.'

[1] *Die Lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten*, p. 182.

Eman. 'Then not in my opinion since at last I am in yours. I will dare make a wager I have taken up a whole hour in dressing.'

Beatr. 'Well, what even if you had taken up two? Where would you have gone, if you hadn't? What are you going to do? I suppose to dig or to plough?'

Eman. 'As if there were a lack of something to do!'

Beatr. 'Oh the great man! so keenly occupied in doing nothing!'

Eman. 'Won't you go away, you girl sophist? Go, or I'll throw this shoe at you, or tear the veil off your head.'

In the first half of the 16th century, the Colloquy had been firmly established in the curriculum of the school, through the books, principally, of Erasmus and Vives. In the second half of the same century, their *Colloquia* were if not displaced, at least dethroned from supremacy, by the *Colloquia* of Sébastien Castellion and Maturinus Corderius[1].

Corderius was born in 1479 in Normandy. He studied in the University of Paris, and taught rhetoric at the Collége de la Marche, where he had John Calvin as one of his pupils. In 1523 he gave up this post and became a master of grammar. He was Head of the school at Nevers 1530–1534, and then joined the staff of the famous Collége de Guyenne at Bordeaux under the famous Andréa de Gouvéa. In 1536, Corderius joined Calvin at Geneva. In 1538 he had gone to the College at Neufchâtel, where he remained seven years. In 1545, he removed to Lausanne, where he was Head-master of the Gymnasium for twelve years. In 1558, he returned to Geneva, where he taught in the Collége de la Rive, and published his *Colloquia* in 1564 at 85 years of age. From 1523, at 44 years of age, when he gave up his Professorship to 'teach school,' and betook him to teaching the lowest classes, because they were neglected, till 1564 when he died, i.e. for over 40 years,

[1] i.e. Maturin Cordier.

Corderius was, as Massebieau styles him, the Restorer of Schools and the Missionary of Education.

Sébastien Castellion was born in 1515 and died in 1563, a year before the publication of Corderius's *Colloquia*. He was the successor to Corderius's post at Geneva after the first teaching period of Corderius under Calvin (1536–8). In 1543 Castellion published his well-known *Dialogues sacrés*[1]. These he dedicated to Maturinus Corderius, and in the dedication he says:

'Do you remember, dear Maturinus, how often we have groaned together over the fact that there was no book which could lead children by degrees from the reading of the most elementary authors to the most difficult? We groaned especially that the sole books in use were not only foreign but also in opposition to pure religion. I have tried to remedy this defect.'

Chronologically, Castellion's *Dialogues sacrés* falls to be considered before Corderius, but great as were the educational services of Castellion, in a more general sense, e.g. in emphasising the principle of toleration in the days of Calvin's strict rule, and in writing the translation of the Bible into Latin and French, he was mainly an apostle of enlightened and tolerant thought, whereas Corderius, if we may use the term, was a schoolmaster by conviction. The aim of both was *pietas literata*, piety joined with culture. In his *Dialogues sacrés*, Castellion writes in a pure and attractive style. The subjects are all biblical. There is a unity and consistency about the whole work, and in this respect, it is superior as literature to

[1] The *Dialogues sacrés* had a very wide circulation. For instance, M. Buisson mentions that there are traces of *at least eighteen editions in Great Britain*. But the friendship of Castellion and Corderius is of significance from the fact that Castellion wrote a book on heretics in opposition to Calvin, who held that *heretics* may rightly be put to death. 'Corderius's friend invoked the rights of charity and proclaimed a new code more conformable to the spirit of Christianity. It is to the eternal honour of Castellion.'—Bonnet, *Nouveaux Récits*, p. 81.

Corderius's book; on the other hand, Corderius chooses his matter to interest boys. Nothing is too small or trivial to include if it be attractive to childhood and can be infused with the right spirit of religion.

The whole of Castellion's subjects are from Scripture—and the whole work thus represents Scripture-history in the form of dialogues. The subject-matter thus precisely met the Puritan demand for Scripture-knowledge and satisfied the classical schoolmaster by its sound Latinity.

The first complete edition of Castellion's *Dialogues* was published at Basle in 1551—a portion having been issued in 1543[1].

The earliest London edition is 1573, then followed editions in 1580, 1611 (Company of Stationers). In 1722 appears the 15th English edition. These editions, naturally, only contain the Latin text.

Translations (Latin and English):

Sebastian Castalio's sacred Dialogues. The history of the Bible collected into one hundred and nineteen dialogues by Sebastian Castalio: translated from the original. London, 1715.

Youth's scripture Remembrancer, or selected sacred stories by way of familiar dialogues in Latin and English, with a short application to each story...by D. Bellamy of St John's College in Oxford.

In a Letter prefixed to the *Dialogi sacri*, addressed to Maturinus Corderius, Castellion says: 'Above all we are troubled that there are no means of the child progressing in the study of this so necessary a language (Latin) without using assiduously books, which far from aiding religious education can only alas! compromise it. Cicero is too difficult and ill-adapted for

[1] Buisson's *Sébastien Castellion*, I. p. 168. This book contains much valuable material as to the culture and education of the times in which Castellion lived.

children. Terence, more to the purpose, does not give enough except when he gives too much. Familiarising children with immoral scenes is a heavy, too heavy a price to pay for even good colloquial Latin.'

If, then, select Bible stories are introduced, Castellion feels there is guarantee for the matter. Care must be taken to render the stories in Latin suited to children, and at the same time, pure and accurate. It was a bold, successful effort.

'The total absence of grammatical or other pedantry,' says Buisson, 'the disappearance of all the old scholastic apparel, the style of perfect simplicity so that vocabulary and syntax, without a shadow of pretension or oddity seem to us so natural as to scarcely draw our attention,—for to-day they are natural and necessary for this special kind of literature....One can imagine the masters of the Colleges of Paris shrugging their shoulders at the sight of these little books, composed for the people, of this instruction in Latin made cheap, a veritable profanation of the antique majesty of studies!'

Castellion's *Dialogues* were used as text-book at

1. Westminster, 1621–8.

   Form II.

   Terence.
   Aesop's *Fables* in Latin.
   Dialogi sacri (Castalio).
   Erasmus's *Colloquia*.

and in the Statutes of

2. St Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark. Orders, 1562.
3. Camberwell Grammar School, 1615.
4. Sandwich Grammar School, Form III, 1580.

1564. *Rivington Grammar School.*

After learning grammar rules, the pupil 'may then be brought to the reading of Dialogi Sacri Castalionis.'

The Colloquia of Maturinus Corderius. 1564.

The title-page is as follows: *Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri* IV, *ad pueros in sermone latino paulatim exercendos recogniti.* Lugduni T de Straton 1564[1].

These *Colloquia* contain an account of the schoolmaster's work, his methods, his aims; of the school-boy's mode of life; of his daily occupation, his books, his play; the various characters and characteristics of boys; their life at home; the relations to the market, the country, orchards, vineyards, tradesmen; and their physical, intellectual, and moral attitudes. The vividness and picturesqueness make the value of the *Colloquia* far beyond that of a mere school text-book. Moreover, the sympathy and insight into boy-nature make the book the typical authority for child- and boy-life of the second half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, it would be difficult to parallel the *Colloquia* in any record of boy-life, even for the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. For Corderius represents in the Dialogues boys who came from all classes of the community. He depicts some pupils from cultured homes. But ordinarily the parents of the boys are farmers from the country, of whom there are many instances in the *Colloquia*; or tradesmen and merchants, to whom the boys write letters, when the father is away at Paris or at Lyons. Sometimes a parent is poor, too poor to buy his boy books. Or another boy's father gives him so much money that it is a marvel to other boys that he can be trusted with it. One boy's father is owner of a large park, with many wild animals in it. Many have orchards, and still more vineyards. Other boys are so poor that they are constantly borrowing to meet dire necessities. Boys are wanted

[1] F. Buisson, *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du XVIe siècle*, pp. 175–77, gives a large number of editions of Corderius's *Colloquia*. It is important to notice that the Latin text was translated by Gabriel Chapius and the Latin-French texts published at Lyons in 1576. Bömer identifies as many as 108 editions, published in many different parts of Europe.

at home to write letters for their parents. One boy has a home of the careless kind that permits him having lice in his clothes. Besides the sons of the learned and the unlearned, Corderius describes children of the pampered rich and that he was obliged to be complacent to them was much against his wish. In Book IV, 22, we have a Colloquy in which a boy describes a feast at his rich uncle's, to which the master was invited.

With boys, then, from all these varying kinds of households, to say nothing of the motley group of refugees' children at Geneva, who can wonder that Corderius wanted some unifying main subject of instruction to attempt to bring them on to a common plane, and if possible on to a learned plane? He saw no way of getting Latin to a reasonable pitch of conversational fluency but by requiring its constant practice, and by forbidding the vernacular, with all its diversities of dialect and absence of a fixed standard. Hence the whole paraphernalia of masters, monitors, lashes, public censure, exhortations, school laws to banish the vernacular and to reinforce in leisure hours the speaking of Latin enjoined and obtained in the school lessons.

Moreover, the school at Geneva under the charge of Beza and the supremacy of Calvin was intended to prepare for citizenship if ever school could claim such an aim. Hence, the dialogues present pictures of the pervading atmosphere of religious and moral training, which transplant the Genevan ideal of a theocracy from the state into the aim of the school. It is the grace of God which enlightens the wits of pupils. The will of an earthly father is the vehicle of God's will. The will of God is to be supreme in all matters, e.g. in the borrowing and returning of a penknife. We must obey our parents, because it is the fifth commandment. In the most ordinary conversation, before expressing any purpose, the boy says 'God willing' or 'If it be the Lord permit.' All religion and morality bears upon it the impress of law-keeping. The sincerity and

simplicity of the dialogues save the tone from seeming priggish, or for the most part, from being strikingly artificial.

Other subjects, such as those which describe the relations of parents and children, the boys' world out of school, in the town and in the country, contain passages that show the innerness of boys' life, as it had never been shown before, except by Vives. There is, for instance, a Dialogue in which Calvin appears as a boy, in which he 'fits' a smaller boy with two quills for use, declines any remuneration, and says: 'Do not spare my labour at any time,'—a pleasing picture of the boy who was to become so hard a man. The interlocutors are very often real persons whom Corderius had known as boys.

One passage may be quoted to give an idea of the simplicity so characteristic of these Dialogues. It is a scene of a Master and three very little boys, asking for an extra play-time:

Master: 'What will you now?' *Secundus:* 'That you would give us leave to play a little.' *Master:* 'It is not time of playing.' *Tertius:* 'We do not require for all but onely for us little ones.' *M.:* 'But it raineth as you see.' *S.:* 'We will play in the gallery.' *M.:* 'At what play?' *S.:* 'For pins or walnuts....We will repeat nouns.' *M.:* 'How many will each say?' *S.:* 'Two.' *M.:* 'Say ye then.' *Primus:* 'Paper, ink: I have said.' *S.:* 'A book, a little book: I have said.' *T.:* 'A cherry, nuts: we have said.' *M.:* 'How fine little men are ye! play until supper.' *Boys:* 'O master, we give you thanks.'

Both John Brinsley and Charles Hoole translated Corderius's *Colloquia* into English. Brinsley's translation was made before 1612, but no copy so early is known. It is entitled:

Corderius Dialogues Translated Grammatically For the more speedy obtaining to the knowledge of the Latine tongue, for writing and speaking Latine. Done chiefly for the good of Schooles, to be used according to the Direction set downe, in the Booke called Ludus Literarius or The Grammar-schoole.

The translation is given in quaint and telling English. Brinsley was a warm admirer of Corderius, and in the *Ludus Literarius* he shows similar zeal and devotion to the cause of training children to virtue and learning—*pietas literata*—and a similar overflowing affection and sympathy for the souls and minds of children and the work of the teacher.

In 1657 Charles Hoole translated Corderius's *Colloquia*. Hoole follows the example of Gabriel Chapius, presenting a Latin text and a translation into the vernacular. The object of the book is declared to be 'that children by the help of their mother-tongue may the better learn to speak Latine in ordinary discourse.'

Other translations of Corderius's *Colloquia* into English are by:

1. Dr Willymot, Vice-Provost of King's College, Cambridge: *A Select Century of Corderius's Colloquies*, 4th ed., 1759; 10th ed., 1760; 20th ed., 1814; and a revised edition as late as 1831.

2. John Clarke, Master of the Hull Grammar School: *A Select Century of Cordery's Colloquies*, 1718; 10th ed., 1740; 29th ed., London, 1806, and Trenton, 1806; and a revised edition, Edinburgh, as late as 1830.

3. John Stirling, D.D., Vicar of Great Gaddesden, Herts: *A Select Century of Cordery's Colloquies*, 6th ed., n. d.

4. Samuel Loggon, M.A.: *Select Colloquies of Mathurin Cordier*, 12th ed., 1790; 21st ed., corrected, 1830. [Samuel Loggon in the course of a long preface discusses the editions of Hoole, Willymot, Clarke and Stirling. He points out merits in each. Of Clarke he thinks very highly, but objects to the printing of his book whereby the *Latin and English are both on one page*, which, he observes, is as improper as an interlinear translation.]

5. R. Mant: *A parsing or grammatical resolution of some of the Colloquies of Cordery.* [With the text.] 2d ed....By *R. Mant, Southampton* [1800?]; 3d ed., 1801.

In addition to the above translations, Latin texts were published by the Society of Stationers in London.

Mat. Corderii Colloquiorum Scholasticorum Libri IV Diligenter recogniti. Protrepticon ad bene vivendi recteque loquendi studiosos. Editions in British Museum, 1679, 1717, 1741, 1780.

In 1854 was published:

M. Corderii Colloquia selecta [together with] *Erasmi... Selecta Colloquia.*

The interpenetration of Corderius's *Dialogues* with the Genevan form of religion made the book acceptable without reserve to Puritan England both in the schools and in private tuition. One very good judge of the circulation and influence of books, Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, in his edition of the *Autobiography of Matthew Robinson,* says:

'His school-books, especially the *Colloquia*, had almost as wide and lasting a fame in France and Holland as the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. ... As the work of a man who was a thorough master of his art, and wrote to satisfy a felt want, they have a freshness of life about them which is utterly wanting in the cram-books which too often took their place—articles supplied to order by the professional book-maker.'

Prof. Mayor in the above note refers to the fact that Matthew Robinson (born 1624) read his Corderius from end to end. So, too, the *Colloquia* of Corderius was one of the school-books of Adam Martindale[1]. The continuous use of Corderius's *Colloquies* in English schools could be traced from

[1] Martindale was born in 1623. He appears to have studied Corderius at St Helens in Lancashire between 1630 and 1640. Mr W. C. Hazlitt, in *Schools, School-books and Schoolmasters*, p. 139, states that on *Probation Day* at Merchant Taylors' School in 1606-7 the *Dialogues* of Corderius was one of the books in which boys were to be tested. Corderius has been edited and published, I understand, at Philadelphia within the last three years.

the time of Brinsley (and indeed before) up to the 19th century. For in Nicholas Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, published in 1818, it is stated, in answer to the inquiries made by the writer, that Corderius's *Colloquies* was among the books at that time in school use at Appleby Parva in Leicestershire and at Coventry in Warwickshire. Prof. Mayor, whose book mentioned above was published in 1856, says the *Select Centuries* extracted by John Clarke or John Stirling 'held their ground until fifteen or twenty years ago, and may still be in use here and there.'

The Colloquy began in the time of the Renascence by being a school method of teaching Latin on the model of Terence and Cicero, but it developed into a method of bringing the vital problems of the age into the school-room, in a form calculated to be suitable to the child. It became the most living, developing method of bringing the young pupil into early touch with the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of the times. The classical authors were fixed, and were un-Christian. The Colloquy may thus be represented as a counter-balance. In the 17th century culture, theology was in the schools at least what science is to-day and represented the progressive element in the school curriculum, largely through the Colloquy. The changes of thought in the religious world can be traced in large characters in the *Colloquies*, as they pass from the pages of Mosellanus to that of Erasmus, from Erasmus to Vives, from Vives to Castellion and Corderius. The Colloquy, in a word, in its later development was a means of bringing the school into relation with life.

Note A.

Mr Leach[1] gives the following specimen of Form of Admission to St Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark:

I, JOHN T(H)OMPSON the first son of RICHARD THOMPSON of this parish, chaundler, of the age of 7 years and three mounths, readinge and learninge in the Accidents and enteringe into propria quae maribus etc., and also Tully, his second epistle amonge those gathered by Sturmius, and Corderius *Dialogues* etc. was admitted into the Gramer Scoole etc. 19 January 1611.

[1] *Victoria History of Surrey:* in the Article on Schools.

Note B.

Pueriles Confabulatiunculae.

Pueriles Confabulatiunculae or Children's Talk were an elaboration of simple phrases for children too young for the longer Colloquies. The main emphasis was laid on the shortness of the sentences or phrases used, on the common supposition of the times that shortness of phrase meant easiness of intelligibility. Many of the phrases employed, in spite of the shortness, were far from being either simple or easy. But they differ from the Colloquies described, in that they are framed on *à priori* views as to what would be good for children to know as Latin constructions or phrases. Unfortunately, they are not formed from a consideration of actual children's conversation. Otherwise, they would have a high historical value. Their significance can only be said to be the indication which they afford of the slight reverence paid by instructors to the delicacy required in the subject-matter of instruction as compared with the early introduction of Latin phrases, colloquial and familiar, which children should acquire, and thus be prepared, in the command of vocabulary, words, phrases and sentences, and exercise themselves in constructions which whether simple or otherwise should be memorized for future use. Hoole's translation[1] of the *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae* of Evaldus Gallus will serve as an example of this class of book. The Latin sentences prescribed are indeed short, and colloquial enough and to spare, but the subjects are often trite, petty and unsuitable. Complimentary expressions and 'manners' are provided for. The children are reminded of the catechism and of reading the Bible. Expressions for accusing anyone are given with painful fulness. Deceit is calmly passed by without rebuke, as for instance, a boy shows a letter written by his father asking for stern measures to be taken by the schoolmaster. The boy alters it completely. The moral seems to be 'Take heed that neither the master nor parent understand the knavery.'

A boy says that at home we have almost all of us 'scabbed heads.' The school is described by a boy as a 'very place of execution.' The boys are 'terribly afraid of their Master's hand.' Whipping and 'jerks' are the

[1] *Children's Talk, English and Latin, divided into several Clauses: wherein the Propriety of both languages is kept. That children by the help of their Mother-Tongue may more easily learn to discourse in good Latin amongst themselves....* By Charles Hoole, Master of Arts L(incoln) C(ollege) Oxon.

M. Cord. Lib. 3, Coll. 34.

'Latin itself doth consist rather in use and authority than reason or rule.' London, 1652.

frequent exercise of masters; rods and ferulas are threatened constantly. The monitors are sneaks, and lamentably anxious to find offences and to lead their school-fellows into serious trouble. 'Learn to bear even an unjust chiding especially from a parent' says one of the dialogues. The speaking of English is noted as an offence but the charge is repelled with such expressions as 'errant liar,' 'he lies like a rogue.' Masters and parents are represented as drinking. One scene is taken from a tavern. In another there is a discussion as to which inn supplies the best beer. Prayers, Graces, the Paternoster, and the Credo are brought in. Evidently the book is of old standing, and Hoole has neglected to leave out the phrase of one of the boys 'When the master saith Mass, I serve him.' One dialogue treats of boys discussing, and gives such poor stuff as the following:

Quadratus: 'Where is the earth the narrowest?'
Robert: 'Where the sea is the widest.'
Quadratus: 'Where are all women good?'
Robert: 'Where none is bad.'
Quadratus: 'Who is the most hateful to women?'
Robert: 'He that finds fault with their beauty.'

Hoole explicitly declares that in preparing books for school use he makes 'use of such books especially, as *are generally received in Grammar Schools*[1], and (I) have begun with *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae*, writ heretofore (as it is probable) in Dutch and Latin by Evaldus Gallus, and with us commonly taught in Latin only, to young smatterers in that tongue, because it seems cheap and pleasant.'

In this book there is no charm of childish simplicity. Instead, there is often precocious worldliness and vulgarity. It is a curious instance, which might receive further illustrations, of school- and text-books, on a higher plane, existing side by side with the older productions on a lower plane, used with apparent unconsciousness of the contradictoriness of moral standards. Evaldus Gallus presents a child's world of a different moral atmosphere from that of Castellion and Corderius. It is surprising that Charles Hoole[2], a lover of children, did not perceive this difference. But he, and the best of the teachers of his age, were too much absorbed in teaching the child to speak in Latin from a simple text like that of Evaldus to notice that the price of doing it was too high for the followers of Corderius.

[1] Brinsley in 1612 and Hoole for the period before 1660 speak of the use of these books. Earlier the Statutes of St Bees School, 1583, enjoin the *Confabulatiunculae*.

[2] The *Confabulatiunculae* had been translated previously to Hoole by John Brinsley in 1617. Brinsley perceived that some of the dialogues were 'Popish, profane and filthy.' These, he states, he had omitted or altered.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRANSLATION OF AUTHORS.

The translation of authors in the country Grammar School is described by Brinsley as toilsome for the teacher and not very effective for the pupil. 'I am fain,' says Spoudeus, 'to give every lecture (i.e. reading or in this case translation) myself: or if I appoint (boys from) the forms above to give them, I am compelled to hear the giving of them. And so I have as great a trouble when they construe false, to direct them right, that it were as much ease to me to give them, myself.' But there was a worse case, viz. that of many poor country schoolmasters who found it difficult to translate, themselves, in propriety of words, phrase and sense. How, then, could these secondary school pupil-teachers—these 'boys from the higher forms'—be expected to do the work adequately?

Brinsley is remarkable as an educational progressive writer, in not spending his energy on protesting against the insufficiency of his brother teachers. He takes things as they are, and considers what can be done with the worst of the actual state of things. With regard to translation of authors in the school there is no need to despair if, in the first place, the perfect knowledge of Accidence and Grammar is insisted upon, and then (i) the practice of the Golden Rule of Construing, (ii) the use of Grammatical Translations[1]. These methods

[1] Spoudeus has heard of ordinary English translations of authors, of course, but he explicitly declares he has never made trial of them in his school.

require explanation, and Brinsley is ready, as ever, to give complete explanation in detail to any inquirer.

Spoudeus has never heard of the Golden Rule of Construing. But Philoponus assures him that both it and the Grammatical Translations exist, and by them 'the way to all construing, parsing, examining, making, writing, speaking, and also trying Latin may be made most easy and plain.'

Sundry learned grammarians[1], says Brinsley, have set down the Golden Rule of Construing. He considers Mr Leech in his little questions of the Accidence is the 'plainest.' The rule of construing may be put thus:

Ques. 'What order will you observe in construing of a sentence?'

Ans. 'If there be a vocative case, I must take that first: then I must seek out the principal Verb and his Nominative case and construe first the Nominative case: and if there be an Adjective or Participle with him, then I must English them next, and such words as they govern; then the verb: and if there follow an Infinitive mood, I must take that next; then the Adverb; then the case that the verb properly governeth; and lastly, all the other cases in their order; first the Genitive, secondly the Dative etc.'

Q. 'What if there be not all these words?'

A. 'Then I must take so many of them as be in the sentence and in this order.'

Q. 'Is this order ever to be observed?'

A. 'No: it may be altered by Interrogatives, Relatives, Infinitives, Genitives of partition, and Conjunctions.'

Q. 'What special things must be observed in construing?'

A. 'That the nominative case be set before the verb, the accusative case after the verb, the Infinitive mood after another mood: The substantive and the adjective must be construed

[1] Amongst these Brinsley names Susenbrotus, Crusius, Cosarzus, but it would be 'over-tedious to set down them all, or what each of them hath written thereof.'

together; except the adjective do pass over his signification unto some other word, which it governeth.'

'The accusative, before an Infinitive mood, must have the word "that" joined with it.'

'The Preposition must be joined with his case.'

Brinsley next quotes (in Latin) the Rule of Translation as given by Crusius[1]. He then himself expounds the rule 'at large,' as he says. After these various expositions, he finally decides on the following 'brief':

1. 'Take the Vocative case, or whatsoever is instead of it or hangs upon it, serving to make it plain.

2. 'The Nominative case of the principal Verb, or whatsoever is instead of it, or depends of it to make it plain.

3. 'Then the principal Verb, and whatsoever hangs of it serving to expound it; as an Adverb or Infinitive mood.

4. 'Lastly, the case which the Verb properly governs and all other cases after it, in order.

'Note that the order is changed by Interrog. Relat. Partit. Indef. certain Adverbs and Conjunctions: all which "use to go before".'

'Observe, specially for the enterers to put them in mind of this often: the Nom. before the Verb: the Substant. and Adject. to go together; unless the Adject. pass his signification into some other word, the Preposition and his case together.'

'This,' concludes Brinsley, is 'the briefest, plainest and most general form that (after long practice and considering of it) I can conceive, though it have some exceptions, as I said.'

It is only by considering such material as the above, in a definite direction such as the Golden Rule of Construing requires, that we can learn to estimate the work of the older intelligent teachers. There was such a mass of Grammars (not only published in England but foreign Grammars) on which

[1] *Latin Grammar*, p. 382 (Brinsley's reference).

the thoughtful educator had to fix his attention, that his problem became a highly scientific investigation. First he must know the material contributed by the galaxy of brilliant Renascence investigators into classical usage, epitomised in volumes themselves stately and ponderous. These, again, came before him in the form of compendia for school use, often especially intent on preserving as much as possible in the way of detail as the printer could make practical by arrangement of type in the smaller book. Filled with fear lest crumbs of scholarship should be lost, and unwilling to lose the name of scholar because engaged in the humble work of school text-book writing, sometimes the writer of the text-book produced a book harder to master than the larger treatise. Amidst all these distracting issues, Brinsley was determined to bring grammatical rules into the simplest forms available for the school-boy, so that he might follow them intelligently, and lose nothing of the spirit of the scholarly work. Always he bore in mind that all simplification of grammar was but a preparative to the ingathering of detailed knowledge later on. Brinsley's task was to lead the boy to the power of adding to his knowledge by self-effort which had been stimulated by the teacher's simplification of rules by clear, thorough, persistent preliminary teaching and drilling, which the boy would never have undertaken but for the stimulus of the teacher.

The two aims of simplification and drill as factors in school teaching led Brinsley into his chief paedagogical doctrine—one which has always presented difficulties to the educator, and usually left him, after mature consideration, in a readiness to compromise—viz. the use of translations in school-work. On this point, Brinsley was absolutely clear and decided. He believed in translations, as desirable and necessary. They must be what he calls Grammatical Translations. Thus Brinsley became probably the greatest exponent of the educational method of translations, which had a wide influence on the schools, in his own time and later. He approached the problem from the paedagogic point of view,

as I have said, of simplicity and drill, as necessary for the pupil, but the reason of the readiness with which his view was often accepted was much deeper. It lay in the accumulated stores of knowledge which the Renascence classicism had brought about. It was therefore necessary in the view of Brinsley to proceed to translation in the easiest possible way so that the pupil should the more readily enter into the new heritage of knowledge.

Brinsley took the idea of 'Grammatical Translations' from Martin Crusius[1]. The principle is that before dealing with a translation into the vernacular a passage should be examined as it stands. The passage as written by the classical author is said to be in its 'artificial placing' (i.e. according to the order of art or constructive skill). This order, accordingly, should in the opinion of Brinsley following Crusius, be reduced to grammatical order. Thus, taking a passage from Cicero *de Senectute*, Brinsley gives the 'artificial placing,' i.e. Cicero's order:

Aptissima omninò sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis, artes exercitationesque virtutum: quae in omni aetate cultae, cùm multum diuque vixeris, mirificos afferunt fructus: non solùm quia nunquam deserunt, ne in extremo quidem tempore aetatis, quanquam id maximum est; verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae, multorumque benefactorum recordatio, iucundissima est.

The 'natural or grammatical order' of the passage is:

Scipio et Laeli, artes exercitationesque virtutum sunt omninò arma aptissima senectutis: quae cultae afferunt fructus mirificos in aetate omni, cùm vixeris multum diuque: non solùm quia deserunt nunquam, ne quidem in tempore extremo aetatis, quanquam id est maximum: verum etiam quia conscientia vitae actae bene, recordatioque benefactorum multorum est iucundissima.

The passage, Brinsley remarks, is thus directly prepared

[1] A German grammarian (1526–1607).

for translation. So that the translation leads the scholar as by the hand, or instead of the master; so, as he cannot err, if he be of any understanding: as thus;

Scipio O Scipio, *et* and, *Laeli* O Laelius, *artes* arts, *exercitationesque* and exercises, *virtutum* of virtues, *sunt* are, *omnino* altogether, *arma aptissima* the fittest weapons, *senectutis* of old age: *quae* which, *cultae* being exercised (or used), *in aetate omni* in every age (or in all our life), *afferunt* do bring, *fructus mirificos* marvellous fruits, *cum* when, *vixeris* you have lived, *multum* much, *diuque* and long, etc.

Such a plan, Brinsley maintains, leads to more than merely easy translation. Each principal word in Latin leads the mind naturally to the word that is governed or dependent. Hence, parsing also becomes easy. It is helpful for 'making Latin,' and it guides the pupil to give a reason for everything. Lastly, Brinsley requires the pupil to reconstruct the 'artificial placing' by being given the English to render into Latin.

Thus, the original passage has been 'analysed' from the rhetorical order into the grammatical order. It has been construed 'according to the true sense and force of each word and phrase.' It has been 'parsed'—this process is, again, analysis *de rigueur*. Similarly, the pupil pursues the synthesis or genesis of the passage. This he does by making the same Latin again in the order of the translation, and then in the words of the author. Then it is proved to be 'true Latin' by parsing. Finally it is 'composed' all again by the rhetorical placing of the words according to the order of the author by the help of a few rules. 'By these means, a child may have a confident boldness to stand against the most learned to justify what he has done.' Analysis and synthesis are thus complementary to each other. Or as Spoudeus puts it: 'There is the same way from Cambridge to London, which was from London to Cambridge.' The method, in other words, as intended by Brinsley, is a development of Ascham's method of double translations. Brinsley gives a list of twenty-one benefits which will result

from the use of the 'Grammatical Translations.' He is evidently convinced of the intrinsic merit of his plan for the boys, whilst it has direct advantages for the master. The teacher may appoint one or two of the best boys in each form to have in hand the grammatical translation, and in the lower forms, the translation is to be read over before the boys begin to prepare their 'lecture' of the author. The boys are to construe 'of themselves' first. The boy who has the translation is to direct where any boy 'goes false.' He is, as Brinsley says, to act instead of the teacher, 'to see that the boys go right.' 'And when all the form are at a stand and none of them can beat the passage out, then onely he who hath the book must do it; as the cunning Huntsman, let him help a little at the default, to point and to direct them where to take it: and thus so many to construe over or so oft, until all of them can construe[1].'

How far this pupil-teacher side of the method attracted Brinsley it is not easy to say, but he seems to feel the difficulty, if not the impossibility, for teachers without such assistance to attend to the needs of each pupil individually, in all the exacting demands of making boys good Latinists, to say nothing of the teaching of Greek and Hebrew, which, as we shall see, were expected in the highest forms. The reading of the author was a slow process, if carried out directly, and Brinsley says with an air of triumph in solving a master's difficulty of dealing with his class: 'I find it far surer and better, to construe and to *parse out of the Translation*, because thereby they are learning continually both to make and prove their Latin, and so do imprint both the matter and Latin more firmly in their memory.'

It is only just to Brinsley to say that he recognises that ordinary translations have brought injury rather than benefit

[1] Brinsley requires that the Master or the Usher supervise the pupil-teachers, to 'have an eye that they take this course and also to help yet further where need is.'

into the school. Translators ordinarily have aimed at giving merely the meaning and drift of the author. They throw no light on exact construing, parsing, and 'making and trying' Latin. The reasons for the unsuitability of their use in the school, in his view, are:

'1. The translators have not followed the grammatical rule in translation.

'2. They have not shown the "propriety and force of the Latin in the first and native signification."

'3. They have not pursued the method of double translation.'

On the other hand, Brinsley's 'Grammatical Translations' have endeavoured to express, both verbally and grammatically, the sense and meaning in all obscure places, offering a variety of English words or phrase 'to the end to teach children thereby, grammar, propriety, sense, with variety of phrase to *express their minds in English* as well as in Latin: and all under one, that nothing be wanting.' Brinsley objects to interlineal translations, that the eye catches Latin and English at the same time, and so the memory is not exercised. Where scholars are more advanced it is profitable to have a text on one page and the translation on the page opposite, as was the case with the Greek school text of Theognis, that folding the book they may look on the text only when translating, and yet have the English ever at hand, 'as a Master, to help in an instant.' But this is for older pupils, and needs discretion.

Brinsley states that he has himself translated grammatically the following school authors—for use after his method:

Pueriles confabulatiunculae.
Sententiae pueriles[1].
Cato.
Corderius *Dialogues.*
Aesop's *Fables.*

[1] *See* Note p. 358.

Tullies *Epistles* gathered by Sturmius.
Tullies *Offices* with the books adjoined to them, *de Amicitia*, *Senectute*, *Paradoxes*.
Ovid *de Tristibus*.
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.
Vergil.

Other books also translated grammatically for continual helps in school:

1. Tullies *Sentences* for entering scholars 'to make Latin truly instead of giving vulgars and for use of daily translating into Latin, to furnish with variety of pure Latin and matter.'

2. Aphthonius[1] 'for easy entrance into themes, for understanding, matter and order.'

3. Drax his *phrases*, to help to furnish with copy of phrase both English and Latin, and to attain to propriety in both.

4. *Flores poetarum*, to prepare for versifying; to learn to versify, *ex tempore* of any ordinary theme.

5. Tully *de Natura Deorum*; 'for purity, easiness, variety to help to fit with a sweet style for their disputations in the Universities.'

6. *Terentius Christianus*[2].

The *Sententiae Ciceronis* to which Brinsley refers is probably that of P. Lagnerius:

Sententiae Ciceronis, Demosthenis ac Terentii Dogmata Philosophica. Item, Apophthegmata quaedam pia. Omnia ex fere ducentis authoribus tam Graecis quam Latinis, ad bene beateque vivendum diligentissime collecta. Londini, ex typographia Societatis Stationariorum 1614 *cum privilegio.*

Titles and the name of compiler of each part are given in the text as follows:

(*M. T. Ciceronis parabolae aliquot et similia; M. T. Ciceronis piae aliquot sententiae; variorum authorum sen-*

[1] *See* Chap. XXVII. [2] *See* p. 322.

tentiae (*edited by P. Lagnerius*). *Appendix sententiarum ex probatissimis quibusque authoribus selectarum praecipue vero ex libris apophthegmatum D. Erasmi Roterodami. D. Jacotii Vandoperani de philosophorum doctrina libellus ex Cicerone.*) *pp.* 393.

The original collection of P. Lagnerius was *M. T. Ciceronis sententiae illustriores*...1547.

A writer directly influenced by Brinsley in the method of grammatical translations was Thomas Hall, curate at King's Norton, in

Wisdom's Conquest or an Explanation and Grammaticall Translation of the thirteenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphosis, containing that Cur[*i*]*ous and Rhetoricall Conquest between Ajax and Ulysses for Achilles Armour, where is set forth to the Life the Power of Valour, and the Prevalence of Eloquence. London: Printed by Philemon Stephens and are to be sold at the signe of the Gilded Lyon in S. Paul's Churchyard.* 1651.

Note. Sententiae Pueriles.

The *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae* was the first conversation Latin book leading to the Colloquies. The *Sententiae Pueriles* was the earliest book placed in the hands of the child before beginning the continuous translation of authors in the later part of the 16th century and held its own in the 17th century. The following is the title:

Sententiae Pueriles, pro primis Latinae linguae tyronibus, ex diversis scriptoribus collectae, Per Leonhardum Culman Crailssheymensem. His accesserunt pleraeque veterum Theologorum sententiae, de vera Religione. Lipsiae, Anno M.D.XLIII.

This text-book begins with sentences of two words. The two-worded sentences begin with *Amicis opitulare*, and end with *Verecundiam serva*, the other sentences to the number of about 200 being arranged alphabetically between these two. Next follow about 200 sentences of three words each, also alphabetically arranged, and then a similar number of four-worded sentences. A still larger number are provided of sentences of more than four words. This gives opportunity for the inclusion of maxims such as *amici in rebus adversis cognoscuntur*. We are surprised at the inclusion of some

of the sentences for these youngest of children, e.g. *uxorum vitia post nuptias discimus*. But the explanation of similar unsuitable sentences for children probably is that the writer was thinking far more of suitable simple Latin construction than of the particular content of the sentence.

There is a large collection of Holy Sentences (*sententiae sacrae*) to be taught scholars upon Holy Days. The small book of 50 pages is rounded off with Rules for Children's Behaviour.

Of course, the book, the first to be given to the child in the Grammar School after his A B C, was learned originally in Latin. The Latin edition was circulated in England and it is this to which Brinsley refers. He intended to supply a grammatical translation for it but does not seem to have done so. However this task was performed by Charles Hoole.

The English title-page is :

Sentences for Children English and Latine. Collected out of Sundry Authors long since by Leonard Culman, And now translated into English By Charles Hoole For the first entering into Latin.

P. Antesignanus in his Epistle to the Saraei, brethren.

Let others affect the opinion of learning; I do plainly and ingenuously confess, I have seriously addicted myself both to fashion and promote Children's studies all that ever I can. London, Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1658.

The Latin text of the *Sententiae Pueriles* was published in England. The patent had been in the hands of H. Bynneman but was given over by him to the Stationers' Company in 1584 for the benefit of the poorer members of that Company.

Brit. Mus. copy Londini, Jo. Beale, pro Societate Stationariorum 1639.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HIGHER AUTHORS, WITH EXCURSUS ON COLET'S STATUTES.

It is characteristic of Brinsley that he devotes more pains and more space to the exposition of the method of teaching pupils to construe the 'lower' than the 'higher' authors, for he believes that the 'grammatical translation' method as pursued in the early stages will become a habit in the pupil so that he will unconsciously bring it to bear on the 'higher authors.' 'Through their perfect knowledge and continual practice of the rule of construing and by that help of the reading in the lower Authors: I mean the help of the matter, words and phrase which they are well acquainted with, and of being able to cast the words into the natural order—they will then be able to do very much in construing any ordinary author of themselves, *ex tempore*.'

The pupils have also the assistance of the master. For the rest, there are the commentaries on the higher authors, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Vergil, as follows:

For Horace and Persius, John Bond.

Of this editor, Brinsley says: 'He hath by his pains made that difficult Poet (Horace) so easy that a very child which hath been well entered and hath read the former school-authors in any good manner, may go thorough [i.e. through] it with facility, except in very few places.' The first edition of Bond's *Horace* appeared in 1606.

Other editions 1625, 1641, 1644, 1659.

The time was drawing near, when one of the greatest of English schoolmaster editors of the classics, Thomas Farnaby,

published his edition of Juvenal and Persius (first in 1612, followed by many editions).

Later on, in 1656, a still better known man, though scarcely so great a scholar as Farnaby, Richard Busby, edited Persius and Juvenal. This was, to use an anachronism, a 'bowdlerised' edition[1].

Brinsley mentions for school use, the further commentaries on Persius of Murmelius, Buschius, and Eilhard Lubinus.

For short comments and annotations of Vergil, there may be used those of Ramus upon the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Also 'the Vergils printed with H. Stephen's annotations, and with Melanchthon's.'

When there is no help to be got from Commentaries then Brinsley suggests:

'*The sum of all for construing without Commentary or Help.*'

1. Consider and weigh well the general matter and argument.

'Demand' (if not otherwise obtainable) 'the understanding in general of the Master or Examiner, what the matter of the place is, or what it is about. Otherwise many places may trouble the greatest scholars at the first sight.'

2. Mark all the hard words in their proper significations i.e. either in the text, by underlining them, or write over against the words in a fine, small hand ('it will not hurt the books'), or if the pupils are afraid of damage to their books, let every one have a little paper book, and therein write only all the new and hard words.

3. Keep in mind the verse, regarding the circumstances of places:

Quis, cui, causa, locus, quo tempore, prima sequela.

'That is, who speaks, in what place, what he speaks, or to what end, where he spake, at what time it was, what went

[1] *See* Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* II. Col. 923.

before in the sentences, next, what followeth next after. This verse I would have every such scholar to have readily; and always to think of it in his construing. It is a very principal rule for the understanding of any author or matter whatsoever.'

4. Cast and dispose the words in the proper grammatical order.

5. See that nothing be against sense, nothing against grammar, cast it and try it another way until you find it out.

Finally, Brinsley wishes the pupil not to be content with bare renderings, let him seek also elegance in his words and phrases. Let him proceed paraphrastically, by exposition of words and matter 'more at large to make as it were a Paraphrase of it.' He adds the *desideratum*, for Brinsley was a good disciple of Roger Ascham though he seldoms mentions him, 'And to do this last in good Latin, where they are of ability[1].'

Comparing Brinsley with Ascham on the subject of translation, the first criticism that strikes the student is that Brinsley speaks from the experience of the class-room, Ascham from the aspiration of the scholar. Brinsley pays attention to the beginnings of Latin learning, Ascham is intent on the finished work of the advanced student. It is not that Ascham neglects the early instruction. In two or three pages, early on in the *Scholemaster*[2] he lays down his order of teaching, his method of double translation, and his provision of two paper books, one for the English construing and the other for a return-translation into Latin, and the instruction to compare the latter with the original Cicero. The pupil is then to write down all cases of proprium, translatum, synonyma, diversa, contraria, and phrases, in a third book. *Voilà tout.* Ascham is then free, for the rest of his Book I, to discourse on gentleness in teaching,

[1] Brinsley insists that pupils should daily construe passages *ex tempore*, besides their 'ordinary lectures.'

[2] Published 1570 by John Daye, *cum gratia et Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis per Decennium.*

Socrates' notes of good wits for learning, Lady Jane Grey, the Elizabethan liberty of youth at home and abroad in the court and elsewhere, Hoby's *Courtier*, pastimes, praise of shooting, Englishmen *italianate*, the value of experience, and the aping of singularity. He has wandered, as he himself says at the end of Book I, from his first purpose of teaching a child, though he claims soundly enough, that the subjects he has discussed are 'within the compass of learning and good manners.' He sees the large issues of education, how it is involved in social, religious, and national questions, and these have drawn him away from school method. Hence Ascham has attracted the modern reader, whilst Brinsley, who sticks to his self-imposed task of describing in detail school-procedure in teaching, has been neglected. Professional interest in paedagogy will bring Brinsley more prominently to notice, for his book never loses sight of the progressive, continuous instruction of the child and the boy, and is therefore more distinctly a professional treatise. Though the largeness of issues discoursed upon by Ascham in religious questions, are present at any rate, to Brinsley's mind, the aim is continuously and persistently paedagogic. In Ascham, we find the spirit of a method which has always been acknowledged by the best educators as sound, but for the filling in of detail we find Brinsley endowed with the same spirit and at the same time abounding in paedagogic insight and experience, knowing the defects of ordinary practice of the Grammar Schools, and bent on suggestions for their improvement.

Whilst Ascham in questions of school practice and school possibilities has not the intimate knowledge of Brinsley, he is more at home in the reading of authors by the scholar. Brinsley's apparent programme is: *Pueriles confabulatiunculae*, *Sententiae*, Cato, Corderius, Aesop, Cicero (*Epistles* and *Offices*), Ovid, Vergil, Horace, Persius and Juvenal. Ascham recommends Cicero, Terence, Plautus, Caesar and Livy. Neither Brinsley nor Ascham would be contented for it to

be supposed that their choice of authors is final and complete. Still, as the lists stand, there is a remarkable difference. Ascham includes the historians, Brinsley excludes them. Again, with the exception of Sturm as a commentator on Cicero, Ascham chooses as his guides and commentators the ancient classical writers themselves. He goes, for his methods, and for guidance in translation and re-translation straight to Cicero and Pliny. To Quintilian he appeals for the method of Paraphrase. He quotes Socrates and Quintilian for Metaphrasis. Lucian he advances to support Epitome, and his section on Imitation is an essay on classical authorities. Ascham wrote in 1570, Brinsley in 1612. The forty years between the *Scholemaster* and the *Ludus Literarius* were forty years of constant commentary on classical authors, based on good and bad investigation, the rigorous application of analysis and synthesis—methods which having worked themselves into the inner consciousness of scholarship, came by the time of Brinsley to be applied to the process of teaching. Ascham, in the earlier age, emphasises the knowledge of the classical writers, as the subject-matter of contemplation. Brinsley is involved in the apparatus of grammar and criticism of annotators, and particularly interests himself in the examination of the paedagogical process. Brinsley, we have seen, finds the teaching of accidence and grammar a hard nut to crack, but necessary to attempt determinedly: Ascham had declared that to read the grammar 'by itself' was 'tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.' Ascham had said the child was to parse the lesson over 'perfectly,' and had left the matter at that. Brinsley devotes 36 pages to the teaching of the accidence and grammar, and 22 pages to the problems of parsing.

We have seen that Brinsley regards translation as a sort of inference from grammar, hence the method of grammatical translations. Ascham looks on the problem of translation as an exercise in comparison of languages and authors. Grammar

is for Ascham a deduction from authors; not a substructure for authors to rest in. The glorification of grammar was a necessary step for the Humanists with the Seven Liberal Arts in their hands, in the emergence from the Middle Ages, as a counter-blast to the supremacy of Logic, but the fact that grammar itself was taught by the method of disputations[1] (even in the milder Brinsley-method of Posing of the Parts) was open tribute to the sway of the older dialectical form. Ascham's suggested minimising of grammar did not approve itself to the ordinary school-teacher Grammar was the battle cry with which the Renascence had sped to decisive victory. It conquered only too successfully. Lily's *Grammar* was supported by injunction of the King and by the visitations of the Bishops as the ordinary Grammar for Grammar Schools. It is noteworthy that though Lily's *Grammar* had been published in its authorised form thirty years before Ascham published his *Scholemaster*, the latter does not refer to it as a part of the equipment of the pupil. In the schools, however, Lily's *Grammar* had a secure footing. Yet one of Brinsley's difficulties was the inconvenience due to the great multiplication of Grammars[2]. The one remedy he saw was to make pupils perfect in the 'ordinary (i.e. Lily's) Grammar.' The minimising or magnifying of grammar is more than a question as to the superiority of Ascham over Brinsley. It is the predominant paedagogical distinction between the early 16th century writers as a whole, and the schoolmasters of the latter half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. It is due not so much to any difference of aim of the later schoolmasters, at least the best of them, from writers like Ascham, as it is the effect of the vast and learned output of learned writers of grammars, philological treatises, and the collections of matter of knowledge from the body of the classics, which led to the breaking up of classical subject-matter into sciences of all kinds. The 16th century stood firm by the contents of the classics, as they

[1] *See* p. 96.

[2] *Ludus Literarius*, Chap. XXXI.

were contained in the classical authors. The business of the student was to know them. In the 17th century they were accepted but it was felt they required manipulating. It was the scholar's business to analyse them, into grammar, philology, history, chronology, and so on. Hence, grammar justified itself apart from the authors. The authors were mines for investigation and an instrument was necessary for this purpose. That instrument was grammar.

It is natural therefore that Brinsley is more thorough-going than Ascham in his treatment of grammar, and it is not surprising that Ascham surpasses Brinsley in his larger view of translation. To illustrate this, take the case of paraphrase recommended by Brinsley as a method of dealing with translations of authors. He has nothing suggestive to say about it. Ascham had pointed out its dangers and its usefulness. He illustrated by dealing with repetitions of the same or similar subject-matter in Homer, Xenophon, Demosthenes. He showed how Melanchthon's style was injured by use of paraphrase. He thought that in Greek it would be useful to alter a passage from the Ionic or Doric into pure Attic. But he was clear, that it is a bad exercise to change a piece of good Latin into some other Latin of doubtful goodness, or even positive badness. Then, as by a master-stroke, he shows how Cicero accomplished paraphrase by writing two passages—one in *de Finibus*, the other in *de Officiis*—on the same subject, and how he reveals the height of the standard, by an object-lesson of what real paraphrase would be. When, in addition, he suggests—if we could also have the Greek before us from which Cicero got his idea rendered in the two passages,—that the scholar would receive more joy in contemplation of Cicero's compositions than if he looked on two of the fairest Venuses that ever Apelles made, we know at once that Ascham saw the meaning not only of paraphrase but of the whole business of classical study—and in a degree which it has not entered into the heart of the ordinary Grammar School (for which Brinsley wrote) to conceive.

The other methods of which Ascham treats, Metaphrase, Epitome, and Imitation, are lessons in style, i.e. in appreciation of classical authors. Brinsley with his country youth to teach, could not reach to them. Even the students in the Elizabethan Universities could not live in their spirit and fulness. Ascham had the root of the matter in him with regard to Latin and Greek. He is, himself, a classic in the exposition of the classical spirit. His appeal is for the scholar's comprehension of the greatness of his study. Neither Brinsley nor Ascham has shown the method for bringing this within the reach of the ordinary school-boy by set syllabuses and tasks. Brinsley, however, has shown later writers what was attempted in the Elizabethan schools. Further, we can see in his *Ludus Literarius* the suggestions to improve on current practice. They may seem moderate in scope, in the light of later developments, but they are sensible from his point of view, and inspired by the love of paedagogic progress, and by aims which he believes to be practicable, and, at least, not necessarily inconsistent with the larger prospects in which Ascham is so fascinating.

The classical progress of the half-century which separates Brinsley's publication of the *Ludus Literarius* and Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* can be traced by a comparison of the views of the two writers on the authors to be brought into the school curriculum. Hoole like Brinsley enters into the detail of reading, writing, accidence, grammar, making of Latin verses, and the whole round of classical discipline with the fervour and energy that transforms drudgery into conscious aim of interested effort. Like Brinsley, Hoole believes in linguistic training. Like Sturm and Corderius, amongst the early French Puritans, Brinsley and Hoole are distinguished by the aim of *pietas literata*. Brinsley, to his contemporaries and their successors, is the 'learned and godly Mr Brinsley.' Describing Brinsley, a writer[1] shows the chief

[1] Thomas Hall, Preface to *Wisdom's Conquest*, 1651.

impression made by him: 'He hath done much this way (i.e. of grammatical translations) and the Nation is bound to bless God for his labours in this kind: yet most of his translations are out of print and many useful authors untranslated which he intended to publish but was prevented by death.'

Brinsley was chiefly remembered, by 1660, for his method of 'Grammatical Translations.' Hoole adopted this method for junior forms. Excepting for the Hebrew, which was included in Brinsley's curriculum, it may be said that Hoole's fifth Form had covered more classical work than Brinsley's sixth Form. This constitutes a great difference, for, as Hoole himself said, 'the Sixth Form is looked upon as the main credit of a School.' Hoole's curriculum is more comprehensive; his outlook wider. This distinction shows itself in the whole of the bibliographical details, of grammars, vocabularies, dictionaries, phrase-books for prose and verse in Latin and Greek, the whole classical round of expository and critical *apparatus*. This implies no depreciation of Brinsley. It was the progress of classical knowledge which made Hoole's programme[1] possible even in conception. It is especially remarkable that such a course of studies, as Hoole's, should be proposed for a Grammar School, when we consider the deplorable state of the Universities in the preceding generations. The explanation is to be found in the fact that foreign scholarship and foreign books found their way into English schools, and an examination of either Brinsley's list of text-books or that of Hoole will show how little dependent the schoolmaster of the 16th and 17th centuries was upon English scholars or writers of text-books. The brotherhood of scholarship, based upon linguistic knowledge of Latin, created a greater range of usefulness for the works of a Melanchthon, a Ramus, an Arias Montanus, an

[1] Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* and Hoole's *New Discovery* must be accepted as representative of the classical aims of contemporary schoolmasters, if not as documents of what was actually accomplished in the Grammar Schools of their age.

Eilhardus Lubinus, a Comenius, than the restriction of means of communication imposed difficulties. In other words, paradoxical as it may seem, the Commonwealth English school was less 'insular' than to-day. Probably from the days of John Dorne, in Oxford, in 1520, to the time of William London, in Newcastle, in 1658, English booksellers sold far more books published abroad, to the schools of England, than books printed in England. On the other hand, the Grammars of Colet and Linacre[1] and editions of classics edited by English scholars like John Bond and Thomas Farnaby probably had a larger public amongst schools on the Continent than they had in England.

Hoole was in touch with the Continent, as indeed Commonwealth scholars generally were. We know that Brinsley 'bred up' many scholars for the University. Doubtless Hoole, in his private school, did the same, and Thomas Farnaby's private school was renowned as a feeding ground for the Universities. But these writers on educational matters write with far more regard to the opinions of scholars abroad and at home than with reference to any systematised regulations of English University studies.

It is this larger aspect of scholarship in itself and for itself, in the republic of letters, that seizes upon Hoole, on which his attention is rivetted and towards which he brings all his powers to bear to lead his pupils. In Hoole there is not the freshness of the early Renascence, but instead there is the fulness of detailed knowledge of the work of the class-room which Ascham has passed by so light-heartedly, to the content of modern readers. We know what Hoole wants, and we know how he proposes to secure it. He is hardly less exigent than Milton, but he knows and cares more than Milton for one subject, viz. the school-boy. For that reason, he surprises us more by the spaciousness of classical canvas which he spreads in the class-

[1] To cite an instance, the great Parisian printer Robert Stephanus published ten editions of Colet's Grammar and twelve editions of Linacre's Grammar (M. Pattison, *Essays* I. p. 74).

rooms of the schools. And if Brinsley claims the attention of the educational historical inquirer, still higher claims may be made for the study of Hoole. Ascham and Milton are theorists; Brinsley and Hoole are primarily practical schoolmasters. Their theory may exceed their practice, but at least the former springs out of the latter.

It is necessary, therefore, in any consideration of the classical authors required to be read in schools in the first half of the 17th century to include Hoole's account, as supplementary to that of Brinsley, half a century earlier.

In the chapter on 'The Practice of Grammar[1],' the authors to be read in the first three forms have been given. They are the English Bible, *Sententiae pueriles*, the *Principles of Christianity*, Cato, *Pueriles Confabulatiunculae*, Corderii *Colloquia*, *The Assemblies Catechism*, the *Latin Testament*, Aesopi *Fabulae* (in Latin), *Castalionis Dialogi*, Mantuan, Helvici *Colloquia*, Perkin's *Six Principles*. The choice has been regulated by the principle of adaptability of the subject-matter to the capacities of children. Whether the principle has been adequately applied may be doubted, but the list is not that of the classical scholar as such, but the genuine effort of the schoolmaster to give suitable text-books to his class, as preparatory to higher flights in the direction of scholarship. Up to the fourth Form, the early authors of the modern Grammar School curriculum such as Caesar and Ovid are considered too advanced, and the fourth Form boys are to continue reading the Latin *New Testament*, because it increases their verbal knowledge of that 'holy book,' and also because they know beforehand something of the subject-matter.

Terence then follows. Hoole's reasons are: 'Terence, of all the school authors that we read, doth deservedly challenge the first place, not only because Tully himself hath seemed to derive his eloquence from him, and many noble Romans are reported to have assisted him in making his Comedies; but also

[1] p. 293.

because that book is the very quintessence of familiar Latins, and very apt to express the most of our Anglicisms withal. The matter of it is full of morality, and the several actors therein most lively, seem to personate the behaviour and properties of sundry of the like sort of people, even in this age of ours. I would have the scholars therefore of this Form to read him so thoroughly as to make him wholly their own.'

Hoole shows, in detail, how the *Terence* should be used, one important point being to 'call out the most significant words and phrases and write them in a pocket-book,' with the references to the passages marked; 'and let them ever and anon be learning these by heart.' They must make analyses and expositions and psychological and ethical observations on the subject to turn into Latin, and so make such a true use of the author as Erasmus directs in his 'golden little book'—*De ratione instituendi Discipulos*. Suitable passages should be learned and acted first in private, then before the whole school. This teaches a careful pronunciation and correct gestures, and removes bashfulness[1] which besets some children.

Of course, Tully's *Epistles* must be read by the method of double translation. In poetry, Ovid's 'little book,' *de Tristibus*, which should be learned *memoriter* to 'imprint a lively pattern of hexameters and pentameters.' This is to be followed by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In this Form Greek begins, and this involves renderings into Latin, and from Latin to the Greek.

In the fifth Form, the boys take the pithy orations from Sallust, Livy, Tacitus and Quintus Curtius[2] and strive amongst themselves which of them can best pronounce them both in English and Latin. Hoole mentions that his usher, Mr Edward Perkins, suggested this exercise, and he says: 'I found nothing that I did formerly to put such a spirit into my scholars and

[1] *See* p. 316.

[2] Probably the pretty little collection *Orationes et Conciones* in the Elzevir edition. Sir Thomas Elyot had recommended such a collection from the point of view of history teaching.

make them, like so many nightingales, to contend who could μάλιστα γελέως (? λιγέως) most melodiously tune his voice and form a style to pronounce and imitate the forementioned orations.'

Justin is to be studied, 'as a plain history and full of excellent examples and moral observations, which for the easiness of the style the scholars of this form may now construe of themselves, and as you meet with an historical passage that is more observable than the rest, you may cause every one of them to write it down in English as well as he can possibly relate it without his book, and to turn it again into good Latin. By this means, they will not only well heed the matter, but also the words and phrases of this smooth historian.' Justin is to be read a half or three-quarters of the year and then Caesar's *Commentaries* or Lucius Florus, with Erasmus's *Colloquies* occasionally for a change.

Now comes Vergil[1], 'the prince of poets,' to be constantly and thoroughly read. The *Eclogues* are learned by heart. The master is to help the class through the *Georgics*, and finally the pupil is to read the *Aeneids* by themselves, with Cerda or Servius at hand, in addition to Mr Farnaby's *Notes on Vergil* constantly in use.

For the sixth Form Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Seneca's *Tragedies*, Martial and Plautus are the authors prescribed, together with readings in Pliny and Quintilian[2].

[1] Wolsey in his *Plan of Studies for Ipswich Grammar School* (1528) divides his School into eight Classes. He places the study of Vergil earlier in the school course than Hoole. In the requirements for the fourth Class, Wolsey suggests: 'When you exercise the soldiership of the fourth Class, what general would you rather have than Vergil himself, the prince of all poets? whose majesty of verse, it were worth while should be pronounced with intonation of voice.'

[2] It must be remembered, moreover, that a large number of the text-books, commentaries, etc. were written in Latin, so that boys had perforce to have a good knowledge of the language, for translation at sight, besides the working knowledge for purposes of vulgars, verses, themes, declamatory orations.

This is the course in Latin authors. The Greek studies of the fifth and sixth Forms in Hoole's course included Homer, Pindar, Lycophron, Xenophon, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Lucian[1].

There is in Hoole's list no Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides and Aeschylus, studies of all of which authors Ascham would desire in the finished classicist. But Hoole is writing for the Grammar School and Ascham's reference to studies is usually to University practice. Putting aside philosophical authors, it would appear that Hoole's expectations from the school-boy in 1660 were as high as the best practice in the Universities in Ascham's time. Certainly it might be contended with good evidence that a boy in a leading Commonwealth Grammar School, e.g. Hoole's or Farnaby's, knew more classics than a University man in the Elizabethan age on leaving the University. It should be borne in mind, as part of the explanation, that the age of entering the University was on the average higher, in the later period.

Excursus. Colet's Choice of Authors for St Paul's School (founded 1509).

The Statutes (1518) prescribe:

'WHAT SHALBE TAUGHT.'

'As towchyng in this scole what shalbe taught of the Maisters & learnyd of the scolers it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler, but in generall to speke and sum what to saye my mynde, I wolde they were taught all way in good litterature, with laten and greke, and good auctors suych as haue the veray Romayne eliquence joyned with wisdome, specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene & chast laten other in verse or in prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to incresse knowlege and worshipping

[1] *See* Chap. xxx.

of god & oure lorde Crist Jesus & good Cristen lyff and maners in the children.'

The books for this end which he names are the Catechism, his own *Accidence* or any better to the purpose, the *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, and Erasmus's *Copia*. 'And then,' he goes on, 'other auctours, as Lactantius, Prudentius, Proba, Sedulius, Juvencus, and Baptista Mantuanus[1].'

Lactantius wrote about 305 A.D. He has been called the 'Cicero of the Fathers,' and his classical style and Christian subject-matter was precisely the combination Colet desired for his school. Juvencus was a Spanish priest who wrote, c. 330 A.D., his *Historia Evangelica*, i.e. the gospel-story, in Latin hexameter verse. His style is based on Vergil—thus again Colet chose his author for style and Christian subject-matter.

Prudentius lived from 348 to c. 410 A.D. His *Psychomachia* was a didactic allegory. In this poem, written in hexameters, the Christ-given virtues fight against the vices which threaten the soul. The conflict is set forth allegorically as a succession of combats between champions.

Sedulius (c. 440 A.D.) attempted a Christian epic poem entitled *Paschale Carmen*. It comprised somewhat less than two thousand hexameters, and was divided into five books. The name would indicate some underlying thought on the part of the poet giving a unity to his work. It was a poem of Christ, our Passover, offered for men.

Probably the most curious writer in Colet's list is Valeria Faltonia Proba, the only woman, as Mr J. H. Lupton has said[2], whose works have been admitted into the *Patrologia*. This lady composed the *Centones Vergiliani*, about the year 400 A.D. A cento is a patchwork of phrases taken from different parts of an author, so as to form a new work, embodying a different story. In this way Proba has treated the Old Testament history

[1] Of these authors, Sedulius, Prudentius and Baptista Mantuanus are also prescribed for St Bees' Grammar School (1583).

[2] Introduction to Colet's *Lectures on II Corinthians*, p. liii.

down to the Flood, and given an account of the life of Christ. Thus the very phrases of Vergil were utilised to convey the subject-matter of Christian story.

We have now seen that the idea of the founder of the great classical school of St Paul's was anxious to combine the advantages of classical style, if possible, with Christian subject-matter. Cicero was not suggested, for he was a heathen; but the Ciceronian style should be induced through reading Lactantius. Vergil should not be studied directly, for he too was not a Christian, but the Vergilian style should be inculcated through Prudentius, Sedulius, and Proba.

Baptista Mantuanus[1] (1448–1516).

Baptista Spagnuoli the Mantuan wrote his *Bucolica seu Adolescentia*, ordinarily called the Eclogues of Mantuan, by 1502. The book was issued with notes by Jodocus Badius. These notes were afterwards supplemented by a commentary of Johannes Murmelius. The book was published in numerous editions abroad and in England. The British Museum Library contains London editions of 1573, 1582, 1627, 1649, 1652 and a Cambridge edition of 1635. But there were doubtless many others.

No one can peruse such an edition of Baptista Mantuan without being struck by the wealth of explanatory and critical apparatus with which he is introduced. We can understand the hot indignation of a Scaliger and other great classical scholars, living in an age in which the reputation of Baptista Mantuan in the schools seemed to eclipse the very classics themselves. Antiquity was summoned to become a cloud of witnesses to a scarecrow of a Vergil. Not only antiquity, but writers of the intervening world of Paganism and Christianity, past and contemporaneous, were also quoted. Vergil's works, including his *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, are cited as if Vergil's main purpose were to illustrate Baptista. Horace is

[1] *See* also p. 302.

appealed to as if on occasion he could discuss principles of poetry founded on Baptista. Cicero seems to have fallen, by accident or design, upon Baptista's phrases. We seem to live in an inverted world. It is all the more illusive because it is an undoubted world of classical research.

While the adverse attitude of classicists can thus be understood, a study of the editions of Baptista Mantuan's Eclogues brings out reasons for their attractiveness as a school text-book. With so many parallel passages brought before the pupil from classical authors by editors, Mantuan becomes the peg on which to hang classical instruction. Mantuan, therefore, easily passed from the position of being an author—safe from the religious point of view—read for his own sake, to that of an author read as an introduction to the classics.

Stated briefly, the subjects of the Eclogues are love, religion, the relations of poets and wealthy men, and the manners of the Roman court. Two only of the Eclogues deal with peasant life, the supposed particular function of the Eclogue, viz. the sixth, entitled 'De Disceptatione rusticorum et civium,' and the eighth, 'De Rusticorum religione.'

Mantuan had the honour of fixing his first line on Shakespeare's mind, and thus securing the attention at least of annotators 'for all time.' Holofernes, in *Love's Labour's Lost*[1], says: 'Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat—and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice:

> Venetia, Venetia,
> Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not.'

[1] IV. ii. 95. Professor T. Spencer Baynes wrote a valuable series of articles for *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1879, Jan. and May 1880, on what Shakespeare learnt at school (afterwards republished in *Shakespeare's Studies and other Essays*. Longmans 1896), in which he described Mantuan's school-book.

Baptista had the good fortune to appeal both to the general public and to the world of schoolmasters. Mr J. H. Lupton[1] suggests that Baptista's popularity as 'a school-author in this country may have been due to Colet's recommendation,' and elsewhere notes that Colet possibly met Baptista[2] at Paris in 1494. Alexander Barclay, who published five eclogues about 1514, and is generally reputed the first English writer[3] of eclogues, says in his prologue:

> As the most famous Baptist Mantuan,
> The best of that sort since poets first began.

The fourth and fifth, at any rate, of Barclay's eclogues, it may be noted, are unacknowledged direct imitations of Baptista Mantuan, though Barclay's fourth eclogue adds one thousand additional lines to Mantuan's, and his fifth extends Mantuan's from two hundred to one thousand lines.

Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat, the opening words of Baptista's Eclogues, have been most frequently quoted. But there is another quotation rendered famous by the offer which was made to Samuel Johnson of ten guineas to state the source of *Semel insanivimus omnes*. He could not give the answer at first, but, as is related in Boswell, he afterwards met it by chance in Johannes Baptista Mantuanus (Eclogue I):

> *Faustus:* Tu quoque, ut hic video, non es ignarus amorum.
> *Fortunatus:* Id commune malum; semel insanivimus omnes.

Mantuan was prescribed by Statute for St Bees' School in 1583, and by orders for Durham School in 1593. Charles Hoole in 1660 gives in detail the method for the study of the *Bucolica*.

Another school author important in the 16th century, though probably inferior in popularity to Mantuan, was Palin-

[1] *Life of Colet*, p. 169.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[3] Professor Saintsbury's description, 'adapter' of eclogues, is possibly better (*Social England*, III. p. 133).

genius. He flourished after the death of Colet, and is not therefore in his list. But he may, perhaps, be mentioned here, as his book was in the programme of some schools, with that of Mantuan.

Marcelli Palingenii Stellati Poetae Zodiacus Vitae, id est, de hominis vita, studio ac moribus optime instituendis. Libri XII.

[In 1559–60 R. Newbery paid 4*d.* to the Stationers' Company for his licence to print Palingenius in London.]

This is a poem of over 9000 lines in Latin hexameter verse, published (the first edition is undated) about 1531. Palingenius was a native of the district of Ferrara. Visitors to the Palazzo Schifanoia will remember the great hall with the frescoes, divided into twelve compartments, each having a sign of the Zodiac. These frescoes in the Palace of the Duke Borso, no doubt, gave Palingenius the idea of the name of his book. The emblematic representations of the frescoes, probably suggested by the scholar and astrologer, Pietro Avogario, to the artists, as the background for the pictorial description of Borso's Court, became in the mind of Palingenius the poetical figuring of man's life as a whole. The *Zodiacus Vitae*, thus, is partly mystical, partly realistic. It includes a survey of man's life in all its relations to learning and to the higher aims disclosed by study, whether on the physical or moral side. The book, therefore, is not merely a text-book in Latin reading. It is replete with subject-matter which reflects the contemporary state of thought on scientific, literary, moral and philosophical questions. It is, if we may use modern phraseology, idealist in tendency. The materialistic side of life is fully described, but the interpretation given is occult, mystical, and it has undoubtedly a religious aspect. The theism proclaimed involves a system of mysticism in which alchemy, astrology, and occultism of a spiritual type get full recognition. The Zodiac of man's life, as its title implies, involves a unity of the physical with the moral order of the Universe. The implication is pan-

theistic, but the position attached to prayer seems to suggest a reconciliation of the pantheistic with the theistic.

It is impossible within short limits to show the comprehensiveness of the subject-matter of this poem. The place of astronomy in the 16th century colours the daily life, both on the physical and on the moral aspects, so much more profoundly than in modern life, that the sun, stars, planets seem the familiar friends of the poet and the readers, and almost acquire the characteristics of personality. The terrestrial is interpreted in terms of the celestial. The unity of all life and thought can be reached only by a study of the particulars of experience which transfigures the physical into the spiritual. Hence the border-land of sleep and dreams gathers importance and interest. Signs and portents of the physical world with meteors, earthquakes, storms are terribly realistic in significance, and descriptive passages are intensely graphic. The detail becomes great through compression of style. The index, for instance, of the *Zodiacus Vitae* occupies 47 pages.

By these subjects of contemplation, the foolish and the astute may get into the common ground of virtue and worth. Palingenius then takes the opportunity of sharply rebuking the proud monks and ecclesiastics. Like Dante he learns his wisdom from a guide who has borne him away from the earth, and brings him back to the jagged rocks of San Marino. Palingenius abounds in quotable lines. His epigrammatic expressions, his neat phrases, combined with comparatively easy and effective Latin in the descriptive passages helped his book to a place in the schools.

In the following English schools the *Zodiacus Vitae* was prescribed by Statute: St Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark (1562); St Bees' Grammar School (1583); Durham School (1593); Camberwell Grammar School (1615).

CHAPTER XXIII.

VOCABULARIES AND DICTIONARIES.

In 1857, Thomas Wright published a *Collection of Vocabularies, Word-Glosses and Glossaries*[1] from MSS. extending from the 8th to the 15th centuries. In this Collection is given a pictorial Vocabulary, supposed to be of the 15th century. The illustrations are rough and crude, but distinctly graphic, and it is a worthy precursor of a school book like the *Orbis Pictus*[2], printed 150 years later.

Perhaps the two most important Vocabularies described by Wright are those of Alexander Neckam and of John de Garlande.

Alexander Neckam's *Treatise de Utensilibus* belongs to the 12th century. Neckam, who was an ecclesiastic, describes familiarly the ordinary avocations and occupations around him. He begins with the kitchen, describing the furniture, cooking vessels, and treats of the cooking of different kinds of food. He then describes the owner of the house, gives his dress, and occupations at home and riding abroad, his room and his furniture. Next comes the chambermaid, and an account of her duties. Then the poultry-yard, and description of cook-

[1] This was re-edited by R. P. Wülcker and published in two volumes, Lond. 1884. Wright's original edition of 1857 was privately printed.

[2] It has been pointed out by R. H. Quick that Comenius derived his idea of an illustrated Vocabulary, such as we see in the *Orbis Pictus*, directly from Eilhardus Lubinus. But the idea is clearly present in this pictorial Vocabulary of the 15th century.

ing of poultry and fish, and remarks on wine. Next appears an account of the building of a castle, its fortification and equipment. Then war, arms, armour and soldiers. In order follow the barn, poultry-yard, stable, weaving; construction of carts and wagons; a house and its building, its various parts; farming, the plough; ships. The scribe and his work and instruments are described; then the goldsmith. Finally ecclesiastical matters.

There is a continuous interlinear gloss to the Latin of explanations in simpler Latin, in French and in English. The assistance, Mr Wright observes, of the gloss was probably an indication to keep the teacher safe and had no immediate reference to the pupils. 'It is evident,' Mr Wright says, 'the schoolmasters themselves were very imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language and that they found it necessary to have books in which the English meaning was written close or beside the Latin word to enable them to explain it to their scholars.'

Indeed the very fact of having the Vocabularies, which were lesson-books rather than dictionaries, points to the lack of accurate knowledge in the teachers, when it is remembered that almost every other word in a vocabulary like the *de Utensilibus* of Neckam is rendered into simpler Latin, French or English. Further, too, many of the interpretations in some of the Vocabularies extant are wrong.

The *Dictionarius* of John de Garlande was composed early in the 13th century. But it maintained its vogue, for after multitudinous copyings in the Middle Ages it saw the light of print.

Mr Wright in his Preface speaks of the interlinear gloss to the Vocabularies as 'precisely on the plan of the modern elementary books of the Hamiltonian system of teaching.' It may, perhaps, now be added that the method includes some foreshadowing of the Gouin method, for all the Vocabularies appear to be contrived on the supposition that objects can

be pointed out, and the words are clearly intended to be learned in the order in which the objects which they denote present themselves when viewed or visualised.

John de Garlande gives some terms likely to be wanted especially by one dwelling in Paris, where probably he wrote it. He begins, however, as so many writers did, with words required in a description of the human body and its parts. Next he gives a long list of trades and manufactures. To show Garlande's thoroughness in vocabulary, Mr Wright's list may be quoted: hawkers carrying shoes, etc. for sale on poles, girdle-makers, saddlers, shield-makers, buckle-makers, dealers in needles, makers of girdles, hucksters, frobishers (or furbishers), the shopkeepers of the 'Grant Pont,' glovers, hatters, lawyers, makers of brooches and clasps, bell-makers, cobblers, cord, wainers, furriers, street criers, menders of cups, itinerant dealers in wine, sellers of cakes, bakers, pie-makers, cooks, changers, minters, goldsmiths, clothiers, linen-drapers, apothecaries, carpenters, wheelwrights, cart-makers, millers, armourers, fullers, dyers, tanners, smiths, etc.

The following completes the description of John de Garlande's *Vocabulary* or *Dictionarius*. He describes 'the house of a citizen (probus homo) and its furniture, which is followed by the naming of the different implements necessary to a scholar or clerk. He then describes his own wardrobe. A rather quaint account of the ecclesiastical library of a priest follows, with his apparel and the implements belonging to the service of the Church. We return from the Church very abruptly to the stable, and then we have a list of the various domestic implements belonging to the mistress of the house, with descriptions of the occupations and employments peculiar to women—weaving, needlework, etc. The account of a poultry shop in the Parvis of Notre Dame furnishes an occasion for giving a list of domestic fowls; that of the fowler, for an examination of wild fowls; and that of the fisherman, for a list of fish.'

This arrangement of words grouped round subjects, so characteristic of earlier school-books, is undoubtedly to be explained as the method suggested by the teaching of Latin as a spoken language. The names of useful and familiar objects were given. They were learned in all probability partially by a method resembling the 'direct method'.[1] The learning of the accidence was carried on at the same time, but the Donatus from which the accidence was learned was in the form of questions and answers in Latin. In the statutes of schools and records of school practice, the learning of vocabulary, so many words a day, was continued after the Renascence, and vocabularies of one sort or other, more or less resembling this of John de Garlande, were continuously in use in English schools from the 13th century to the days when the *Janua Linguarum* and the *Orbis Pictus* were written. These very books may be described as only a variation of the method of the vocabularies of the Middle Ages. The following are examples of the requirement of the learning of vocabularies in schools:

1568. *Bangor Friar School Statutes.*

'Item. Besides the said Ordinary lectures the schoolmaster or Husher by the schoolmaster's appointment shall every night teach their scholars their Latin words with the English signification which their Latin words with their English significations every one of the scholars shall render without the books openly in the midst of the school so that the schoolmaster may hear and inform them every morning at their first coming to the school.'

[1] The method is described by Elyot (1531):

'There can be nothing more convenient than by little and little to train and exercise them in speaking of Latin: informing them to know first the names in Latin of all things that come in sight, and to name all the parts of their bodies; and giving them somewhat that they covet or desire in most gentle manner to teach them to ask it again in Latin.'

The Gouvernour (edited by Crofts, I. p. 33).

'Item. They shall begin with words that concern the head reciting orderly as nigh as they can every part and number of the body and every particular of the same, after that they shall teach the names of sickness, diseases, virtues, vices, fishes, fowls, birds, beasts, herbs, shrubs, trees, and so forth they shall proceed in good order to such things as may be most frequented and daily used.'

1580. *Harrow Rules.*

'Every evening the schoolmaster immediately before their departure from School shall recite to those of the second, third and fourth forms, three Latin words, and declare the signification thereof plainly in English which they shall write orderly and rehearse to him the next day; at that time he shall begin with names of parts of man's body, of diseases, virtues, vices, herbs, beasts, fishes, trees and the like.'

The most elaborate description is in the *Rivington Grammar School Statutes*, 1566.

'As the young scholar is thus learning to decline a noun and a verb, the Usher shall daily exercise him with diversity of words in every comparison, declension, gender, tense, and conjugation, teaching him the English of every such Latin word; and examine him oft what is Latin for every such thing, that by this means he and others that hear may learn what every thing is called in Latin, and so be more ready to understand every word, what it signifieth in English, when they shall come to construction. As first to begin with Latin words for every part of a man and his apparel; of a house and household stuff, as bedding, kitching, buttery, meats, beasts, herbs, trees, flowers, birds, fishes, with all parts of them; virtues, vices, merchandise, and all occupations; as weavers, tanners, carpenters, ploughers, wheelwrights, tailors, tilers, and shoemakers; and cause them to write every word that belongs to one thing, together in order. And if this be done often and loud, that every one may hear and give ear, they will strive who

shall learn and remember most Latin words, and will rejoice in it, one opposing another who can do the best.'

Amongst the earliest printed Vocabularies was:

Stanbridge's *Vocabula* (Wynkyn de Worde: London, 1507).

The *Vocabula* is an expanded form of the *Vulgaria*. Mr Gordon Duff notes editions in 1500, 1520, 1529. Ames gives editions published by Wynkyn de Worde as 1501, 1507, 1510, 1521, 1525, 1532.

The words given in the early part of the vocabulary are those which describe the various parts of a man's body and their functions, and his senses. Then follow a number of verbs and descriptive adjectives. The English is given in black letter and the Latin in Roman type. Then follow words describing diseases, names of kindred, names of affinity, furniture, apparel of the body, a chamber and things relating to it, cooking, hay-mowing, and instruments for it, corn and words connected with corn-growing, winnowing, husbandry, dairying, animals, birds, the table and things connected with it, a mill and its equipment, money-coining, goldsmith, smith, iron-smith, plumber, and paver, carpentry and its equipment, tailor and supplementary workers, fishing, trees and fruits, together with things connected, herbs, 'the appendices of ships,' spectators of war, musical instruments.

In Dibden's edition of Ames[1] is given the section from Stanbridge's vocabulary of words pertaining to ships.

In the letter to the reader Stanbridge states that the first part of his *Vocabula* is entitled The Anatomy of the body (de corporis anatomia). It has almost entirely been taken, he says, from *De Animalibus* (interprete Theodoro) on fishes, birds, grasses, with some words from Pliny. For things connected with agriculture (agricultationis arma) from Plato, Varro, Columella. A good deal of the remainder is from the *Cornucopia* of Perottus. Stanbridge modestly says if anyone not

[1] *Typographical Antiquities*, II. p. 92.

from mere curiosity but for the sake of public usefulness shall show any faults in his book, it will in no way vex him (offendet me nihil). The challenge was taken up. In an undated edition, issued from the press of Abraham Vele, at the signe of the Lambe, the book bears on its title-page *nuper emendata ac edita*. It had by this time evidently become a property of some value, for we find: *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*. The editor was Thomas Paynell, who says the book had formerly been so badly printed that Stanbridge himself could hardly recognise which was his and which the printer's. But Stanbridge had been unwilling to re-read, purge, and correct what he would wish to be suppressed though in the hands of all (*in manus omnium*). Paynell has undertaken the task, for Stanbridge, a man erudite in all knowledge, in this little work has 'rather played with boys in boyish fashion than written a book.'

In 1615 Stanbridge's *Vocabula* was re-published with the name of Thomas Newton as editor, corrected, as Newton claims, of an infinite number of mistakes. Whatever labour Newton gave to the *Vocabula*, it is sufficient to say that the preface is taken almost word for word from Paynell's, and the latter's name suppressed.

In 1630, Stanbridge's book was again printed under the undoubtedly careful and enthusiastic editing of John Brinsley. He has placed figures above each of the Latin nouns in the Vocabulary to show the Declension, and a letter to show the gender. Adjectives of three terminations have *bo* placed above them to show that they are declined like bonus. 'If of three articles' *fel* shows them to be declined like felix, *tr* like tristis. Where *pl* is added, it is to show that the word has usually the plural number. Verbs have the conjugation marked by a figure before the letter C standing for conjugation. Brinsley hopes, therefore, the *dictionarius* may be also a help to the grammar.

Coming to the time of the Renascence, by the Vocabulary

quickly passed into the Dictionary form. But there was a further change. MS. vocabularies only had a more or less local circulation, whereas the best printed books had a chance of circulating throughout Latin-speaking Europe.

The Latin Dictionary of Ambrose Calepio [Calepinus], which appeared at Reggio in 1502, was the great Renascence Dictionary. A Calepin[1] became the name for a huge dictionary as recognised as a Donat in the Middle Ages had been the accepted name for a small grammar. Calepinus not only included a large collection of Latin words used by Latin writers, but he included renderings into Italian and other languages, and eventually these were increased until the Calepin included a dictionary of eleven different languages. Hallam says[2]: 'Calepio, however moderate might be his erudition, has just claim to be esteemed one of the most effective instruments in the restoration of the Latin language in its purity to general use[3].'

The great general dictionary was the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*[4] of Robert Stephanus, published first in 1531. This dictionary introduced examples of the special force of words in particular idioms, and delicate shades in the meaning of words as used in various writers. The importance of such improved treatment meant the circulation of resources for using right words, and the possibility of a more general cultivation in the right use of words and phrases in Latin speaking and writing.

One other foreign dictionary of a special nature should be added—viz. the *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* of Nizolius, 1535.

[1] See note 2, p. 227, 'a Calepine of the worst.'

[2] *Literary Hist.* I. p. 258.

[3] There is notice of a Calepinus's Dictionary in the libraries of Hawkshead School and Great Crosby Merchant Taylors' School. See Christie's *Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire* (Chetham Society's Publications).

[4] See p. 311. The original form was an adaptation of Calepin for schools ('Dictionarius'). The final form of the *Thesaurus* was published 1543.

This is a complete dictionary of Ciceronian words and expressions, and played an important part in the development of Ciceronianism—i.e. the strict adherence to the *verba ipsissima* of Cicero in all attempts at Latin composition.

Of Greek dictionaries, Vives in 1523, says: 'As works of reference there should be in the Library the following books: A small Greek Lexicon with Greek-Latin and Latin-Greek. *Hesychius* is the best for understanding the poets, especially Homer. Julius Pollux[1] will suggest variety and copiousness of words, yet he is poor for the purpose of the very advanced student, for he rather injures the skilled, than assists the unskilled student.'

The great Greek Lexicon was the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* of Henricus Stephanus, 1572. Hallam justly describes the appearance of this dictionary as marking an epoch in Greek study. 'In comprehensive and copious interpretation of words it not only left far behind every earlier dictionary, but it is still the single Greek Lexicon; over which some have ventured to abridge or enlarge, but none have presumed to supersede.'

The ordinary school-dictionary for Greek, however, was that of Scapula issued in 1579[2].

Of the Latin dictionaries compiled by Englishmen, first and foremost for a long period, was that of Sir Thomas Elyot, entitled:

The *Dictionary of Sir Thomas Eliot knyght. Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* fol. 1538.

The following passage gives an insight into Elyot's manner of making his *Dictionary* and into the materials at hand:

'I well perceyued, that all though dictionaries had been gathered one of another, yet nethelesse in eche of them ar omitted some latin wordes, interpreted in the bokes, whiche in order preceded. For Festus hath manye, which are not in

[1] i.e. the *Onomasticon*.

[2] See Chap. XXXI.

Varros *Analogi*: Nonius hath some, which Festus lacketh: Nestor toke nat all that he founde in them bothe. Tortellius is not so abundant as he is diligent: Laurentius Valla wrate only of wordes, which are called elegancies, wherein he is undoubtedly excellent: Perottus in *Cornucopie*, dyd omitte almost none that before him were written but in wordis compounde he is to compendiouse: Fryere Calepine (but where he is augmented by other) nothyng amended, but rather appaired that which Perottus had studiously gathered: Nebressensis was both well lerned and diligent, as it appereth in some wordes, which he declareth in latin: but because in his dictionarie wordes are expounde in the Spainish tunge, which I do not understand, I can nat of hym shewe myn opinion: Budeus in the exact triall of the native sence of wordes, as well greke as latine is assuredly right comendable, but he is moste occupied in the conference of phrasis of bothe the tunges, whiche in comparison are but in a fewe wordes: Dyvers other men have written sondry annotations and commentaries on olde latine authors, among whom also is discord in their expositions.'

The *Dictionarie* was improved and issued (fol.) in 1552 under the title:

Bibliotheca Eliotæ. Eliotes Dictionarie the second tyme enriched and more perfectly corrected, by Thomas Cooper. In ædibus T. Bertheleti: Londini.

This was further expanded by Cooper in 1565 into the *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ*[1], and republished 1573, 1578, 1584.

The following book contains a reference to Elyot's *Dictionarie*, and shows how Elyot's work was continued and developed.

An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie in Englishe, Latin, and French: Very profitable for all such as be desirous of any of

[1] Cooper's expanded work evidently borrows its title from the great Latin Dictionary of Robert Stephanus.

those three languages. Also by the two Tables in the ende of this booke, they may contrariwise, find the most necessary Latin or French wordes, placed after the order of an Alphabet, whatsoever are to be founde in any other Dictionarie: And so to turn them backwardes againe into Englishe when they read any Latin or French auctliors, and doubt of any hard worde therein. 1573. Second edition 1580.

The *Alvearie* is by John Baret, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Address to the Reader gives so picturesque and vivid a view of teaching at the time that it is too interesting to omit. In it Baret describes the production of his work:

'About eyghteene yeares agone, having pupils at Cambridge studious of the Latin tongue, I used them often to write epistles and themes together, and daily to translate some peece of English into Latin, for the more speedy and easie attaining of the same. And after we had a little begunne, perceyving what great trouble it was to come running to mee for every word they missed, knowing then of no other Dictionarie, to helpe us, but Sir Thomas Eliot's *Librarie*, which was come out a little before, I appoynted them certaine leaves of the same booke every day to write the English before the Latin, and likewise to gather a number of fine phrases out of Cicero, Terence, Cæsar, Livie etc. and to set them under severall Tytles, for the more ready finding them againe at their neede. Thus within a yeare or two they had gathered togither a great volume, which (for the apt similitude betweene the good scholars and diligent Bees in gathering their wax and hony into their Hive) I called them their *Alvearie* both for a memoriall by whom it was made, and also by this name to incourage other to the like diligence, for that they should not see their worthy prayse for the same, unworthily drowned in oblivion.'

'Therefore I went to divers of mine olde pupils then being at the Innes of Court, deliuering each of them some part of their olde discontinued worke to see it written faire againe

(and for other peeces which I thought unperfect, I gat certayne of ye best scholars of two or three schooles in London to write after my prescription): but in the French and Tables, although I had before traueyled in divers countries beyonde the seas, both for language and learning: yet not trusting to mine owne skill, I used the help of M. Chalmer and M. Claudius.'

It may be mentioned that for Baret's *Alvearie*, Richard Mulcaster wrote a commendatory Latin quatrain for the 1st edition, which he exchanged in the 2nd edition for a Latin poem of 30 lines.

The great Latin Dictionaries published in England after Elyot were those of Thomas Thomas, John Rider, and Thomas Holyoke. In 1587 was issued from the Cambridge Press, *Thomae Thomasii Dictionarium.* Of this work there were numerous editions, one in 1615, *cum supplemento* Philemonis Hollandi. In 1589, John Rider, at one time Bishop of Killaloe published the *Bibliotheca Scholastica, a double Dictionarie Penned for all those that would have within short space the use of the Latin Tongue, either to speake or write.* Rider's *Dictionary* includes an English-Latin part as well as Latin-English. Rider stated that his work included 4000 more words than any previous dictionary issued in England. In 1617, followed Thomas Holyoke's *Dictionarie Etymologicall* joined to Rider's *Dictionarie*, 'corrected.' In 1633, Holyoke enlarged his work, and published it as *Dictionarium Etymologicum Latinum.* The final form was published posthumously as *A Large Dictionary* in three parts (i.e. English-Latin, Latin-English, and a Dictionary of Names) in 1677—1676. In the English-Latin part, Holyoke claims that his work has 10,000 more words than any previous dictionary[1].

The large dictionaries of Calepin, Stephanus, Elyot, Cooper, Thomas, Rider, Holyoke, etc. were far too precious in the

[1] The whole range of Latin Dictionaries between Elyot and himself is fully described in Francis Gouldman's Preface to his Dictionary, 1664, which he describes as a 'comprisal' of the Latin Dictionaries of Thomas, Rider, Holland and Holyoke.

earlier times for 'children' in school to use[1]. Probably the most widely circulated Dictionary for Schools was the following, the title of which shows its comprehensiveness.

A Dictionary in English and Latine; devised for the capacitie of Children and young Beginners. At first set forth by M. Withals, with Phrases both Rythmicall and Proverbiall: Recognized by Dr Evans; after by Abr. Fleming; and then by William Clerk. And now at this last Impression enlarged with an encrease of Words, Sentences, Phrases, Epigrams, Histories, Poeticall fictions and Alphabeticall Proverbs. With a compendious Nomenclator newly added at the end. Corrected and amended in divers places. All composed for the ease, profit and delight of those that desire Instruction, and the better perfection of the Latine tongue. 1634.

Withals published the *Dictionary* c. 1554. He describes his short dictionary as 'gathered of good authours, specially of Columell, Grapald and Pliny.' Lewis Evans revised and increased Withals' *Dictionary* in 1574. Abraham Fleming added rhythmical verses in 1586.

William Clerk in his Preface (1602) speaks of Evans and Fleming as compilers from the *Nomenclator* of Hadrianus Junius[2]. So, too, it evidently has a precursor in the *Ortus*

[1] In the Statutes (1628) of Coventry Grammar School, it is prescribed 'that there be Dictionaries *chained* in the School for the general use of the scholars there, and shall be kept safely by the Head Schoole-maister and Usher.'

[2] *The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer of Adrianus Junius, Physician, divided in two Tomes, conteining proper names and apt termes for all thinges under their convenient Titles, which within a few leaves doe follow: Written by the said Ad. Ju. in Latine, Greeke, French and other forrein tongues: and now in English by John Higins: With a full supplie of all such words as the last inlarged edition affoorded; and a dictional Index, conteining fourteen hundred principall words with their numbers directly leading to their interpretations: Of special use for all scholars and learners of the same languages...Imprinted at London for Ralph Newberie and Henrie Denham*, 1585. 8°.

Adrian or Hadrian Junius was born 1511 or 1512 at Hoorn, in Holland. Studied at Haarlem and Louvain. Studied physic in Paris, where he took his doctor's degree. Became physician to the Duke of Norfolk in

Vocabulorum, which again traces its inspiration to the *Cornucopia* of Perottus.

The arrangement of Withals' *Dictionary* is according to subjects. 'He who would find the sun, the moon, the stars may look for the Sky. There they be ready for him in English and Latin. Not of themselves alone but with sentences, proverbs and sayings of the Sky besides.' Roughly speaking this 'children's' dictionary is a Nomenclator of all the things a child is likely to want to talk about, arranged according to subjects, with the Latin and the English, together with a collection of phrases and subject-matter in connexion with the word used. It is curious to find epigrams as a part of childish equipment. But the essential point about this dictionary—which was so widely used—is that it is deliberately planned for its usefulness in acquiring Latin for speaking as well as writing. This holds of the numerous Vocabularies and Nomenclators, from the *Catholicon* to Comenius's *Janua Linguarum*, which is really a vocabulary arranged in sentences. The inclusion in Withals of words of history and of poetry together

England in 1543. Lived in England some years. Compiled a Greek and Latin Lexicon, to which he added above 6500 words. By dedicating this book in 1548 to Edward VI he fell under the displeasure of Rome, and his works were placed in the Index Expurgatorius. He left England but returned on accession of Mary and in 1554 wrote an Epithalamium, on her marriage to Philip. Returned later to Haarlem where he lived until 1573. In the siege of that year he lost his library and the MSS. of a great number of works. He died 1575.

The 1st edition of the *Nomenclator* was published Lugd. Bat. 1567. It is the outcome of amazing erudition and research, the enormous labour involved putting the ingenious and painstaking Salamanca *Janua* (by William Bathe) itself into the shade. The writings of 62 Latin and Greek poets, 58 doctors, philosophers and rustic writers, 62 historians and orators, 20 theologians, 13 jurists, 52 grammarians, together with 44 others of the later Latin and Greek authors—have been ransacked to supply material for the names of *things* mentioned in this extraordinary book. In fact the *Nomenclator* professes to supply the proper names and apt terms for ALL *things*, under their convenient titles in Latin, Greek, French and English.

with *illustres sententiae* from the best authors and a collection of adages in Latin and English show the importance attached in 1553 and onwards to the inclusion of ornaments of discourse and writing in even the very early training of children in the Latin language.

So, too, Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, 1590, contains a vocabulary of English words with their meanings given in English. This book is a miscellany containing a Spelling-book, a Catechism, Numeration, Chronology and two pages of writing copies. The English vocabulary takes up about 18 double columned pages out of a book of 79 pages. In 1651 Charles Hoole published his *Easie Entrance to the Latin Tongue*. This, again, is a miscellany containing the Ground of Grammar, Examples of Rules of Concordance and Construction, Collections out of the lowest School authors, More elegant Expressions for Children, the First Principles of Christianity—as well as a Vocabulary of Common Words, English and Latin. This, however, contains about 180 double columned pages of words English and Latin. This Vocabulary is arranged by subjects similarly to Nomenclators and to Withals' *Dictionary*. A modern reader opening one of these subject vocabularies, say, either Withals' or Hoole's, at the section on the School will find materials for building up in imagination a picture of the old 16th and 17th century school-room. He will, moreover, be forced to notice that the employment of Latin as a spoken language involved the use of terms, classical and non-classical, such as the youth of to-day never needs to acquaint himself with in his written exercises. So the other topics of vocabularies, as for example in Hoole, of employments in the house, country, town, law-matters, warfare, the church, commonwealth, trade, a journey, voyage, buying and selling, sports, etc. Necessary and useful words in these subjects imply the knowledge of a large range of words. We know that William Bathe in his Salamanca *Janua Linguarum* expected the pupil to know about 5000

words and Comenius in his similarly named *Janua* was more exigent, expecting no less than 8000 from his pupil. When we recall that Dr Morris in his *English Grammar* considers that three to five thousand words is the limit of the vocabulary of the ordinary Englishman, we must recognise that the old schoolmasters were perhaps unduly ambitious for their pupils in their Latin-speaking. The implicit and even explicit aim of a 'knowledge of all things' which developed by the time of Comenius, implied a knowledge of the Latin words for all things. The study of such subjects as Agriculture, Engines of War, etc. in old Latin authors, as Milton required from the pupil, necessarily involved a wide knowledge of technical terms. There can be no doubt that Latin as a spoken language made enormous demands on the word-memory of the well-informed student. The early stages, however, must have been learned from the text-books indicated rather than the large Dictionaries still extant, though the erudite school-teachers such as Stockwood and Farnaby would supply their pupils with an atmosphere of Latin speech and construction, much more marked in its effects than any text-books, and the demand for school libraries, as made for instance by Hoole and Wase, means the felt need of teachers for facilities for their own reference to the great compilations which had been made in the 16th century. It is, however, to be noted that Charles Hoole requires a school library[1] to be established so that Dictionaries and other large and learned books can be within the reach of the pupil as well as the teacher.

Bibliography of the Dictionaries published in England up to 1660.

The progress of dictionary-making is an interesting chapter in the history of Education. But it is not within the scope of this book to include even a general sketch. The course

[1] As to school-libraries *see* R. C. Christie's *The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire* (Chetham Society's Publication, 1885).

of the development of dictionaries may be studied by reference to the works quoted in the following authorities:

1. In the Appendix to Mr Way's edition of the *Promptorium*: Notices of Glossaries, Vocabularies and other works, illustrative of the English Language and of Mediæval Latinity and used for the most part in this edition of the *Promptorium*. The full title of the book is: *Promptorium Parvulorum, sive Clericorum, Dictionarius Anglo-Latinus Princeps, Auctore Fratre Galfrido Grammatico dicto, ex ordine Fratrum Predicatorum, Northfolciensi*, circa 1440. Edited by Albert Way, M.A., for the Camden Society, London, 1865.

2. Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's 'Latin-English and English-Latin Lexicography,' in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, December 1855, and March 1857.

3. Chronological Notices of the Dictionaries of the English Language, by Henry B. Wheatley, Esq., in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1865.

4. Article 'Dictionary' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ninth edition, 1877.

5. The Romanes Lecture in the University of Oxford, 1900, by Dr J. A. H. Murray, Editor of the *Oxford Historical Dictionary*, on 'The Evolution of English Lexicography.'

Dr Murray traces the development of the dictionary through the stages of glosses and glossaries, through vocabularies, and he might have added nomenclators. He mentions the *Medulla Grammatices*, the *Ortus* (i.e. *Hortus*) *Vocabulorum* of 1500; the *Promptorium Parvulorum*[1], i.e. Children's Store-room, about 1440; 1483, the *Catholicon Anglicum*; in 1538, Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary*; in 1554, J. Withals' *Short Dictionary for Young Beginners*. He then names William Horman's *Vulgaria*, 1519; Huloet's *Abecedarium*, 1552; and Baret's *Alvearie*, 1573; in 1570, Peter Levins' *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (an English rhyming dictionary). English dictionaries are then

[1] *See* No. 1 above.

tracked through Robert Cawdrey, 1604, *The Table Alphabetical of Hards Words*; 1616, Bullokar's *English Expositor*; 1623, Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionary*; the *Glossographia* of Thomas Blount in 1656; and *The New World of Words* of Edward Phillips, 1658. The whole lecture of Dr Murray is very interesting and should be read on the subject. Dr Murray also mentions the following:

FRENCH.

1521. Alexander Barclay[1].
Introductory to write and pronounce Frenche.

1527. Giles du Guez (or du Wes).
Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce & to speak French trewly.

1530. John Palsgrave.
Esclaircissement de la Langue Françoyse.

1611. Randall Cotgrave.
French English Dictionary.

POLYGLOTT DICTIONARY.

Minsheu, John.

Ἡγεμὼν εἰς τὰς Γλώσσας, id est, Ductor in Linguas. The Guide into Tongues. Cum illarum harmonia, et etymologiis, Originationibus, Rationibus, et Derivationibus, in omnibus his undecim linguis, viz. 1. Anglica. 2. Cambro-Britannica. 3. Belgica. 4. Germanica. 5. Gallica. 6. Italica. 7. Hispanica. 8. Lusitanica seu Portugallica. 9. Latina. 10. Græca. 11. Hebræa. Lond. 1617. fol.

2nd ed. of 1626 contains also an exposition of the terms of the 'Lawes of this Land,' with the etymologies of proper names of the Bible.

WELSH.

Salesbury (Wm.).

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, moche necessary to

[1] Barclay also wrote a *Grammatica Latina.* 1516. 4to.

all suche Welshemen as will spedly learne the Englyshe tôgue * * * whereunto is p̃fixed a little treatyse of the englishe pronũciation of the letters. B. L. Few MS. notes in Brit. Mus. copy. J. Waley. London, 1547. 4to.

SPANISH.

1599. Richard Percevall, Gent.
Dictionary in Spanish and English.

ITALIAN.

1599. John Florio. (Italian-English.)
World of Words. Republished in 1611 as Queen Anna's New World of Words.

I add here names of general dictionaries not already mentioned. Dr Murray is concerned to show the development of dictionary-making, but such a list as the following (though not complete) may serve to show some of the varieties of the types in various departments of knowledge. It should be added that books like the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor (1522) and the numerous phrase-books in many cases served as dictionaries for school use.

Marbecke (John).

A Concordâce, that is to saie, a worke wherein by the ordre of the letters of the A B C ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible etc. (by J. M.) 1550. fol.

Barlement (Noel).

Colloquia et Dictionariolum octo Linguarum; Latinæ, Gallicæ, Belgicæ, Teutonicæ, Hispanicæ, Italicæ, Anglicæ, & Portugallicæ, etc. By N. Barlement. Excudebat E. G. impensis Michælis Sparke, Londini, 1639. obl. 8vo.

Pasor (George).

Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum. Lond. 1644, 1650. 8vo.

Rowley (Alexander).

The Scholar's Companion; or all the Words in the Greek and Hebrew Bible interpreted, by A. R. Lond. 1648. 8vo.

Hexham (Henry).

English and Nether-Dutch Dictionary. Rotterd. 1648. 4to. Enlarged and enriched by Dan. Manley, Rotterd. 1675, 1678. 4to.

Robertson (William).

A Gate or Door to the Holy Tongue, containing i. The chief and necessary Grounds of the Hebrew Grammar; ii. A Table for the Hebrew Roots, etc. Part First. Lond. 1653. 8vo. Part Second, being a compendious Hebrew Lexicon, or Dictionary, etc. Lond. 1654. 8vo.

Symson (Andrew).

Lexicon; or English, Greek and Latin Concordance of the New Testament. Lond. 1658. fol.

Somner (William).

Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum cum Grammatica et Glossario Ælfrici. Oxon. 1659. fol.

Dugard (William).

Lexicon Græci Testamenti alphabeticum. Una cum explicatione grammatica vocum singularum * * * apposita, etc. London 1660. 8vo.

To these should be added three Dictionaries of Antiquities:

Romanae Historiae Anthologia. An English Exposition of the Roman Antiquities, wherein many Roman and English offices are paralleled and divers obscure phrases explained. For the use of Abingdon Schoole. Newly revised and inlarged by the Author. Oxford, Printed for Henry Cripps. Anno Dom. 1628. (By Thomas Godwyn.)

This work is divided into four Books: i. The Roman City. ii. The Roman Religion. iii. The State Political. iv. The Art Military.

Imagines Deorum, qui ab antiquis colebantur, published by Antonius Verderius in Latin 1581. 4to. Translated into French by V. Cartari [Chartarius] 1610.

Natalis Comitis Mythologiae, sive Explicationis Fabularum, Libri decem. Genevae. [1125 pages, exclusive of Indexes and Linocerius's *Musarum Mythologia* and the *Observationes*.] First published 1551.

Natalis Comes gives a Catalogue of *over six hundred* names of writers and works from which sentences or words are quoted in this work. The study of his book, and constant references to it by readers must have steeped them in the names of Latin authors to a remarkable degree. In his list it should be stated he does not include the Renascence or post Renascence writers[1]. Hence the references in this Classical Dictionary contain the *verba ipsissima* of the old writers. They thus constitute a particularly solid discipline in translation at sight, and present to the pupil models in the art of collection of passages from old writers introducing references to mythological personages. If the book is not critical in the light of modern Classical Dictionaries of mythology it is, on the other hand, much more intimate in its use of old authors. Written in Latin, it yet cultivates the pupil in the practice of quotation of passages from the classical authors who illustrate the topic under discussion. It is a monument of industry; one of those works, which if you dip into it for a reference, you find yourself attracted irresistibly by other subjects and other details.

[1] An exception, however, is made in favour of *himself*, e.g. in *lib.* vi. (p. 647 of the Geneva edition of 1641) are quoted 29 lines of the author's own poetry! His name is included in the *Scriptorum Catalogus* of this edition under *N*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MAKING OF LATINS.

In the Middle Ages the method of teaching Latin seems to have been: 'The lessons were given by word of mouth.... They had roughly made tablets (*tabulae*) on which they wrote down the lesson in grammar, or the portion of vocabulary from the dictation of the master, and, after committing it to memory, erased the writing, to make room for another[1].' For the whole of his knowledge the boy was dependent on his master. A knowledge of the grammar, together with glossaries, glosses and vocabulary, seem to have constituted the chief accomplishments of the masters themselves, and if there was any Latin composition attempted by masters, it was quite as likely to have been verse as prose.

At any rate, all traces of directions for the 'making of Latins' in the Middle Ages seem to be lost, if they existed. The first printed exercises of the *Vulgaria* type are idiomatic expressions from Terence. These may have been used for the purpose of translation and re-translation, for written composition, but most probably their main object was the cultivation of Latin speaking. The earliest extant volume is entitled:

Vulgaria quaedam abs Terentio in Anglicam linguam traducta. [English and Latin.]

It appears to have been issued by 1483. [See Madan's *Oxford Press*, p. 257.]

[1] Thomas Wright: *Old English Vocabularies*, ed. Wülcker, 1. p. i.

This consists of sentences from Terence translated into English, without any apparent connexion. The sentences are colloquial and idiomatic. The following are examples of the English:

'O goode godd what oon man is bettyr than anodyre?'

'All odyr thinges left or sett asyde I muste giff me to my booke.'

'There is no thynge that I hedd leuyre than to be wyth 3ow.'

'Faders should be esy ande tendyr anemste theire chyldre but not so muche that their tendyrnes corrupt their myndes.'

'I fare the bettyr that 3e fare wele.'

'Gode men fayle ne want nothyng. For what so euyre they haue thei holde them contente.'

'Recommaund me to my maistere & quite wele all my fealawys & frendys I pray the.'

'Fare wele and godd be wyth 3owe.'

The next *Vulgaria* or materials for Latin composition is the large collection of William Horman. Horman was Head-master of Eton College from 1487 to 1494, when he became Head-master of Winchester College, till 1502.

Horman's *Vulgaria* was published by R. Pynson in 1519. It contains a large number of sentences in Latin and English, arranged according to subjects, and filling a book of 300 pages.

The following are examples of the English:

'A principal poynt of a scole maister is to discerne the difference of wyttis in childrene; and to what thynge every wytte is best disposed.'

The Latin is Virtus praeceptorum est ingeniorum notare discrimina, et quo quemque natura maxime ferat.

I cite the following without adding Horman's Latin:

'It is a shame that a young gentleman should lose time at the dice and tables, cards and hasard.'

'Tell me in Latin what he sayeth in Greek.'

'It is not little maistry to speak and write promptly Latin or Greek without any incongruity or discord.'

'By redynge of substanciall authours: thou shalt brynge about or atteyne to speke elegant and substanciall laten.'

'A man can scant beleue how great a let and hyndraunce is wronge and fylthy latten or other speche to yonge childrens wyttis and in especial in theyr fyrste settynge to scole.'

Horman[1] has chapters on schools and games, and much information may be gleaned from his book, since he evidently endeavoured to write on points likely to be of interest and value to his scholars.

It was probably in the next year, 1520, that a book appeared with the title: *The Englysshe of Mancyne upon the foure cardynale vertues*[2].

The writer, who is anonymous, is in one respect far more important than Horman, for he states his method of teaching composition. This is none other than Ascham's method of translation and re-translation. But this is advocated 50 years before Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* appeared. The writer explains his method in detail. This is the first statement in English, as far as I can discover, of a method of teaching Latin composition, and as it anticipates Roger Ascham, who is usually credited with being the first Englishman to advocate the method of double translation, I venture to quote the whole passage of this grammarian of 1520.

'¶ *The Englysshe of Mancyne upon the foure cardynale vertues.*

'¶ We haue made this Englysshe exposition for tway profettes specially aboue dyuers other the which can be had by no laten glose. The one is for turnynge Englysshe into laten: the other for laten into Englysshe for in these tway

[1] William Horman was a friend of William Lily, the grammarian. The two were attacked by Robert Whittinton who called himself Bossus. Their joint book in reply was called *Anti-bossicon*, 1521. *See* p. 238.

[2] As to the subject-matter of this book, *see* p. 120.

poyntis standith all the busynes of grammar. Therefore whose wolde haue these tway profetis: let hym laboure diligently theyse tway warkys. But howe they shulde be laboured: and what other profettis shall cum of theym; it is shewyd a litle in the later ende of this boke (London 1520?).

'How the lerners should laboure these warkys.

'Whose woll labore kyndly these tway warkes and most esyly to his profit he must first correct them, as we have showed here afore.'

For turning English into Latin.

'And then if he will labour to turn English into Latin, he must take first of the easiest Englishes; specially if he be young in learning himself. And when he understandeth his English clearly; what it meaneth, then let him look what part of speech is every word thereof, specially the declinable words, in whom (which) beside their declining, seven things must be considered, three in casual words: number, case and gender, and four in verbs; mood, tense, number and person. If he cannot by his own study, understand every part and specially the Declinable parts with the Concords longing to them, he must go to other, that be better learned than he, both for them and also for those Latin words that he can not, until our tway alphabet tables come abroad the one beginning with the English words, having their Latin following the other having their English following. And when he hath turned his English into Latin let him overse his Latin diligently that every word be according to his English and neither more nor less, and that his Latin have a perfect sentence, when it is Englished word by word. And then let him turn to the Latin of the text, and where he cannot find by his own reason, why the Latin of the text is otherwise than his Latin, let him mark diligently and keep still in his mind those points that be showed him of other[s], and so shall he shortly learn by the Latin of the text not only to correct his own Latin made out a[t] length every word, as it should be spoken, but also to make it short as it should be

written. For like as the tongue and the pen betray maner (? many) things, even so they should keep either of them his property (i.e. propriety). The tongue should speak out a[t] length with a tretable clear voice every word, leaving nothing to be understood, that the hearer may perceive clearly the sentence at the first for many [a] one is a shamed to desire to have a thing showed him twice. But the pen should write nothing that may easily be understood, for the reader may rehearse it as often as him list beside the help of the orthography (to see how the words be written) and of the pointing (to see how the clauses be divided each from other with their own points longing properly to them) if they be truly kept, as they be in these tway works of ours, especially the orthography of the Latin work and the pointing of both the works. And yet though the reader have all these helps of understand[ing,] the pen man must set the words of his writing after such order, as the sentence thereof may appear most easily and openly to the understanding of the reader, as nigh as the metre will suffer, by the which metre the reader thereof shall have another help of understanding, to see the difference of the words by the length of their syllab[le]s. And so because this Latin work is in metre and that in the most used metre, the learner thereof shall have good Imitation to exercise himself in turning his Latin when he hath made it short into verses and that into pure clean Latin verses full of quick fruitful sentence. Without the knowledge of this common metre no man should take upon him, as a grammarian.'

¶ For turning Latin into English.

'Whoso will learn to turn Latin into English, let him first take of the easiest Latins and when he understandeth clearly what the Latin meaneth, let him say the English of every Latin word that way, as the sentence may appear most clearly to his ear, and where the English of the Latin words of the text will not make the sentence fair, let him take the English of those Latin words by whom [which] the Latin words of the text

should be expounded and if that [they] will not be enough to make the sentence perfect, let him add more English and that not only words, but also where need requireth, whole clauses such as will agree best to the sentence, and then when he hath done the best he can by his own wit, let him turn to our English, and where he cannot find out by his own search how our English agreeth to the Latin, let him mark and keep surely in his mind those points that be showed him of other[s]. Or else, if he have nobody to show him them, let him keep his doubts in his mind, and so forth let him go an [on] hand with mo Latins, for he shall find in conclusion, by diligently taking heed how he shall be satisfied of every doubt by his own study, and that not only of turning Latin into English and English into Latin, but also of all other points of grammar, that need requireth. This English exposition showeth also the order, how the Latin should be construed with the English to the Latin words, either their own, or else the English of those Latin words that they should be expounded by. Moreover it showeth shortly and clearly the sentence of the Latin, that which is profitable not only for the Latin learners, but also for them that can but English, especially for children, that should learn to read English, for therein they shall have not only good plain perfect Englishes but also good wise reasons of everything lightly that be[long] to the whole course of man's life, whereby they may learn how they should behave themselves, how they may do good righteously to the world and wisely for themselves. Therefore, because this work is made upon so many maner divers things, the readers may not look that one thing should depend upon another.'

It is impossible to determine how far the method thus laid down in this translation of Mancinus was adopted in English schools. But James Pilkington, the first Bishop of Durham, prescribed by Statute for Rivington Grammar School, in 1566, this method of double translation, four years before Ascham's *Scholemaster* was printed. After naming reading in certain

Colloquies[1], Pilkington's Statute reads: 'That so with daily exercise in reading he shall wax perfect in understanding; for perfection is not to be looked for in these young years, nor in these Grammar rules, but rather in observation, noting, and learning how the best Latin writers have used to speak, and place words and sentences; and these are not so scrupulously to be used and sticked at, but some boy may have a sentence or two as he is able to take any other as many of the same book or the like, that joining altogether everyone may have the whole by hearing his fellows, and the meanest wit may attain to great perfection of it. And for the better encouraging of young wits, the Usher shall often take like sentences in English himself, and turn them into Latin, making his Scholars to repeat them after him, and to make the like in Latin themselves, that the younger wits may learn to do the like by themselves afterwards, when they be thus led into it, by hearing him.'

There were, thus, two systems of composition employed. First, the making of vulguses, i.e. the composition of Latin sentences, for which there was the apparatus of Vocabula, Vulgaria, together with phrase-books like Udall's *Flowers for Latine Spekynge*, 1533. These exercises were probably both in prose and in verse according to the authors being read. This method of writing vulguses appears to have prevailed at Eton and Winchester[2]. Secondly, the method of double translation, of which the passages quoted from the translation of *Mancinus* and Bishop Pilkington's Statutes at Rivington[3] are instances. Roger Ascham in his *Scholemaster* (1570) threw in his influence in favour of double translation.

'The making of Latins,' says Ascham, 'marreth children[4].' The child is beaten, when the master is the one at fault.

[1] Pilkington refers to the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, Vives, Castellion.

[2] Leach: *Winchester College*, p. 226.

[3] Pilkington was one of the English refugees in Switzerland in Queen Mary's reign, and may have been influenced by what he saw of foreign methods.

[4] *Scholemaster*, p. 2.

Those two schoolmasters Horman and Whittington have written *Vulgaria* of which it must be said, a child shall learn of the better of them one day what he will have to unlearn the next. Brinsley's Spoudeus[1] tells the same tale. Whatever he does, his children 'will still write false Latin, and barbarous phrase, without any certainty.' Even boys of fourteen and fifteen, he complains 'cannot make true Latin and pure Tully in ordinary moral matters, neither do I think it is much otherwise in ordinary schools.'

The ordinary method of making Latins.

'I have,' says Spoudeus, 'given them vulgars, or Englishes, to be made in latin. At the first entrance I have taught and heard them, how to make every word in Latin, word by word, according to their rules. After a while, I have onely given them such vulgars, and appointed them a time against which they should bring them made in Latin: and at the perusing and examining of them, I have been wont to correct them sharply, for their faults in writing, and for their negligence; and so have given them new Englishes: and it may be I have told them the Latin to the hardest words. This is the course I have followed.'

Philoponus replies that this is precisely the method which Ascham terms the 'butcherly fear of making Latins.' There is a better method, viz. the thorough grounding of pupils in Accidence and Grammar.

Brinsley's method may be seen by an example. His directions are:

'Take these little sentences as they are set down in the first chapter of Tullie's Sentences. *De Deo eiusque natura*, dictating the words to them plainly as the children may most readily make them in Latin. In their little paper books they may write the English on the first side with the hard Latin words in

[1] *Ludus Literarius*, p. 148.

the margent, the Latin on the other over against it, in two columns; the first plain after the Grammar order, the latter placed after the order of the Author: yourself may make the words or phrases plain to them, as they are set in the Margent.'

Brinsley's Example of Dictating in English, and setting down both English and Latin, and the Latin both plainly and elegantly:

To take the place of Vulgars or Latin Exercises.

Dictating according to the natural order	Ordo Grammaticus	Ordo Ciceronianus
No man [a]hath been [b]ever great without (*verb*) some divine [c]inspiration.	Nemo fuit unquam magnus sine afflatu aliquo Divino.	Nemo magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit 2. de Natura Deor.
There is nothing which God cannot [d]effect, and truly without any labour.	Est nihil quod Deus non possit efficere, et quidem sine labore ullo.	Nihil est quod Deus efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo 3. de Nat. Deor.
God cannot [e]be ignorant [f]of what mind everyone is.	Deus non potest ignorare, qua mente quisque sit.	Ignorare Deus non potest, qua quisque mente sit 2. de Divinatione.

[a] Hath ever bin.
[b] At any time (*verb*) inspiration some divine.
[c] à flatus, breathing into.
[d] Bring to pass. [e] Ignoro.
[f] In what mind or with what mind.

Substantially this is Ascham's method of double translation, with Brinsley's favourite *tertium quid* in the form of the *Ordo grammaticus*. He enjoins care to be taken lest boys use a translation secretly, in the same way that Ascham requires his

boy to sit 'where no man shall prompt him[1].' Brinsley here, again, sees the usefulness of his grammatical translations, especially mentioning the Corderius *Dialogues* and *Terentianus*

[1] The following is an interesting passage on prompting, which deserves quoting as throwing light on school-room work early in the 17th century.

Upon an accident to me when I was a school-boy.

'Before Master Downhale came to be our Master in Christ School, an ancient cityzen of no great learning was our schoolmaster; whose manner was to give us out several lessons in the evening by construing it to every form, and in the next morning to examine us thereupon; by making all the boys in the first form, to come from their seats and stand on the outsides of their desks, towards the middle of the school, and so the second form and the rest in order, whilst himself walked up and down by them and hearing them construe their lesson, one after another; and then giving one of the words to one, and another to another (as he thought fit) for parsing of it. Now when the two highest forms were despatched, some of them whom we called prompters would come and sit in our seats of the lower forms, and so being at our elbows, would put into our mouths answers to our master's questions, as he walked up and down by us: and so by our prompters' help, we made shift to escape correction; but understood little to profit by it, having this circular motion, like the Mill-horse that travels all day; yet in the end finds himself not a yard further than when he began. I, being thus supported by my prompter, it fell out one day that one of the eldest scholars and one of the highest form, fell out with me upon occasion of some boys' play abroad; and in his anger, to do me the greatest hurt he could (which then he thought to be, to fall under the rod) he dealt with all the prompters, that none of them should help me, and so (as he thought) I must necessarily be beaten. When I found myself at this strait, I gathered all my wits together (as we say) and listened the more carefully to my fellows that construed before me, and having also some easy word to my lot for parsing, I made shift to escape for that time. And when I observed my adversaries' displeasure to continue against me, so as I could have no help from my Prompters, I doubled my diligence and attention to our master's construing our next lesson to us, and observing carefully how in construction one word followed and depended upon another, which with heedful observing two or three lessons more, opened the way to show me how one word was governed of another in the parsing; so as I needed no prompter, but became able to be a prompter myself: and so the evil intended to me by my fellow scholar, turned to my great good.'

Mount Tabor: by R. W(illis) of Gloucester, 1639.

Christianus. Hard words are to be supplied. They may use dictionaries: Holyoke or Baret. 'Holyoke is best wherein the proper words and more pure are first placed.'

By his advocacy of grammatical translation, Brinsley introduced the process of turning the Latin of what he calls the natural order, into the rhetorical or artificial order of Tully. Brinsley recognises as readily as Ascham that without this ability, all Latin writing is vanity. His general Precepts of composition or placing of the words in Latin are taken from Macropedius: *Methodus de Conscribendis Epistolis*. For 'more exquisite observation in placing and measuring sentences rhetorically, in prose by scholars of riper judgment in their themes, declamations, orations, or the like Talaeus: *Rhetorica, de Numero Oratorio*, cap. 17, 18' is to be read.

We can trace from school Statutes the 'making of Latins' through the various stages of development. The germ of the exercise is that mentioned in Cardinal Wolsey's *Plan of Studies for Ipswich School*, 1528—'Just before retiring to rest the pupil should remember something choice from his reading to repeat to the master the next morning.' In the East Retford School Statutes (1552), Form II is to turn sentences from English into Latin. By the Sandwich Grammar School Statutes (1580) in the Ushers' Forms the boys are to be exercised in the 'making of Latins,' which evidently were an elementary sort of exercise. Later on, the Usher is required 'every Monday, to deliver an Englishe of two lines to his second Form, and of ten lines to his third Form to be translated into Latin at their vacant times against Thursday afternoons.' At Bangor Friars' School (Statutes, 1568): 'Item. The schoolmaster and Husher shall beware of making too much haste or too quick speed in teaching—and shall daily some convenient time practise and gently induce their scholars to the making of Latins for the better understanding of the concords in the Latin tongue; albeit they must have always in diligent remembrance that they teach but little at once and with many examples, some-

times short profitable and pithy to make any word and thing open evident and plain.'

By Durham School Orders (1593) the scholars 'shall vary diverse and sundry rules (of grammar) by making of their own mind some short dictamen of every grammar rule.'

The Harrow Orders (1590) require the second Form to learn to 'make English into Latin,' whilst it is only in the fifth Form that the boys are to make a Theme. So, too, in the Durham Orders (1593), whilst the lower boys are to make a dictamen, the higher boys are specifically required to make a Theme according to the precepts of Aphthonius.

Accordingly, the conclusion is that the 'making of Latins' was an elementary exercise, founded on 'flowers of the Latin speech,' leading eventually to the serious business of making a Theme, which was based on the rules of rhetoric. But in the stage of development reached in the 'making of Latins' in Brinsley's time, it was necessary to obtain practice in the writing of Latin Epistles, before entering upon the Theme.

CHAPTER XXV.

LETTER-WRITING.

Pupils having acquired a sound knowledge of Grammar, and having had, and still continuing, constant exercise in translation and re-translation, or at least in the making of Latins, it became the duty of the Schoolmaster to see them well drilled in what may be called Imitation of classical models. By Imitation is not meant merely transcribing (though it is to be feared that exercises often degenerated into something approaching transcription) but the adaptation of classical phrases and diction to the expression of the thought and opinion of pupils on all sorts of subjects. In other words, the pupil was to compose as originally as possible in an ancient language, in which the only possible authorities for standards of expression could be the written works extant of the classical writers.

For all forms of composition, Cicero and Terence were the first models. But by the time of Hoole it was recognised that Imitation must not be taken to mean mere slavish adherence to the words of even Cicero, but that the Ciceronian *spirit* must be cultivated, and the *matter of composition* must be such as to appeal, as far as possible, to the capacities of the pupils. Accordingly, to both Brinsley and Hoole, letter-writing seemed a very suitable introduction to more sustained prose composition —partly, probably, because a good deal of the form was constant, e.g., in the beginning and ending of the epistle—certain phrases might occur frequently, and the general construction of a letter was fairly easily understood.

Charles Hoole (1660) requires Letter writing in the fourth

Form. The text-book should be Sturm's editions of Cicero's *Letters*, or as alternatives, the edition in use at Westminster School or the *Epistles* of John Ravisius Textor. The method is to be that of double translation. The acquiring of style is a difficult matter, so that Hoole translated a *Century of Select Epistles* from Tully and other choice authors, 'making the English answer to the Latin, period by period. And these I cause them to write over, and in so doing, to take notice of the placing of every word, and its manner of signification.' Then they were to write down the English and Latin together. Afterwards they wrote the English translation by itself, and ten days afterwards they were to try to turn it back again into good Latin. Then followed the attempt to vary the matter of the models, so as to give freedom and resource in composition.

In all the composition, however, Hoole insists that the boys are never to utter or write any words or phrases which they have not read or heard used in the same sense—further that familiar expressions used in writing letters be collected and noted in a paper-book. Each pupil would then construct a book after the model of Fabritius' *Elegantiæ pueriles*. Variety of expression should be aimed at, and as many instances as possible of idiomatic Latin should find their way to the paper-book, particularly multiplying the alternatives for English phrases.

Hoole gives a complete summary of the method of teaching Letter-writing.

'1. Ask one of your boys, to whom, and for what he is minded to write a letter; and according as he shall return you an answer, give him some general instructions how to do it.

'2. Then bid him and all his fellows let you see which of them can best indite an English letter upon that occasion, and in how short a time.

'3. Let them every one bring his own letter fairly written that you may show them how to amend the imperfections you find in it.

'4. Take his that hath done the best, and let every one give you an expression of his own, gathering from every word and phrase that is in it, and let it be different (if it may be) from that which another hath given already before him.

'5. As they give in their expressions, do you, or an able scholar for you, write them all down on a paper, making a note that directeth to the place to which they belong.

'6. Then deliver them the paper and let every one take such words or phrase, as is most agreeable to the composition of an epistolatory style (so that he take not the same that another useth), and bring the letter writ fair, and turned out of English into Latin. And thus you shall find the same epistle varied so many several ways, that every boy will seem to have an epistle of his own, and quite differing in words from all those of his fellows, though the matter be one and the same.'

Hoole points out that for good letter-writing there must be the frequent perusal of good models. He urges that boys should be encouraged to read Tully's *Epistles*, and further, Pliny, Seneca, Erasmus, Lipsius, Manutius, Ascham and Politian, and such others as they can come across, so long as they are really good Latinists[1].

The fourth Form should for practice, write on their own account, two epistles a week, one in answer to the other. These are to be shown 'fair' on Saturdays. They are not to exceed a quarter of a sheet or side, so as to secure thoroughness.

'And let this rule be observed in performing these and all manner of exercises; that they never go about a new one till they have finished that they began. It were better for scholars

[1] When Hoole draws up a list of subsidiary books for his sixth Form to have at hand he includes the following:

Epistolae: Tullii, Plinii, Senecae, Erasmi, Lipsii, Manutii, Aschami, Politiani, Turneri, Symmachi. For a list of authors on the academic exercise of letter-writing, *see* D. G. Morhof: *de ratione Conscribendarum Epistolarum Libellus*, Chap. III.

sometimes to do one and the same exercise twice or thrice over again, that in it they may see and correct their own errors, and strive to outdo themselves, than leaving that in their hands incomplete, to get an ill-habit of hasting over work to little or no purpose. Non quam multum sed quam bene should be remembered in scholars' exercises.'

The books which Hoole recommends for the method of letter-writing are John Clarke's *Epistolographia*; Erasmus's *de conscribendis Epistolis*; John Buchler's *Thesaurus conscribendarum Epistolarum*; Simon Verepaeus's *de conscribendis Epistolis*.

It will be necessary to ward off the young letter-writer from 'Barbarisms and Anglicisms,' and for this purpose he should make use of a *Little Dictionary English and Latin* (i.e. by John Withals[1]), Mr Walker's *Book of Particles*[2], lately printed. Also Mr Willis's *Anglicisms Latinised*, and Mr Clarke's *Phraseologia Puerilis*[3]. Turselinus[4] or Doctor Hawkins' *Particulae Latinae orationis*[5] are also to be consulted.

Brinsley and Hoole, of course, deal with epistle-writing as a method of improving the knowledge of Latin. Letter-writing in the vernacular, as an end in itself, was a later development in the schools.

The most thorough going text-book on Letter-writing in English, perhaps in any language of the time, was that of Angel Day, entitled:

The English Secretarie.—Wherein is contained a perfect method for the inditing of all manner of Epistles and familiar Letters, together with their diversities, enlarged by examples under their severall Tytles. In which is layd forth a Path-waye, so apt, plainer and easier, to any learner's capacity, as like whereof hath not at any time heretofore beene delivered.

[1] *See* p. 392 *supra*.

[2] *See* p. 458 *infra*.

[3] *See* p. 461 *infra*.

[4] i.e. Orazio Torsellini: *De Particulis Latinae Orationis*, Mog. 1599.

[5] *Particulae Latinae Orationis, collectae, dispositae et...confabulationibus digestae*, Lond. 1655.

Now first devized and newly published by Angel Daye. (1586.) 4°.

This book, of course, can hardly have been a school text-book, but educationally it has its significance, for it went through a large number of editions at any rate up to 1635. The edition of 1635 contains 31 pages of introductory matter on the commodity and usefulness of letter-writing, on what is chiefly to be respected in framing an epistle, of the habit of epistle-writing, of the divisions generally incident to all manner of epistles, of divers orders of greetings, farewells and subscriptions, of superscriptions and directions.

Angel Day's divisions of letters are as follows:

The first part consists of letters *descriptory*.

Epistles: laudatory, vituperatory, deliberative, exhortatory, hortatory, suasory, dehortatory, dissuasory, conciliatory, reconciliatory, petitory, commendatory, consolatory, monitory, reprehensory, amatory.

The second part of letters *judicial*, viz.:

Epistles: accusatory, excusatory, purgatory, defensory, expostulatory, exprobratory, invective, comminatory, deprecatory.

Epistles: familiar—nunciatory, narratory, remuneratory, gratulatory, objurgatory, mandatory.

The 1635 edition of Day's book introduces an account of Rhetorical Figures, Tropes and Schemes. Pages 391–441 are occupied with a disquisition: 'Of the Parts, Place and Office of a Secretary.' This portion of the 1635 book is not in the original edition of 1586. It deals with the mental and moral characteristics to be looked for in a good secretary, particularly insisting on his loyalty and trustworthiness in all matters. He must be suitably equipped by education, by conversation and order of living, and by sufficiency, skill, knowledge and ability. He must be of honest family, and of good shape and countenance. He ought to be well studied in the Latin

tongue, to be sufficiently read in Histories and Antiquities, and above all things be ready and apt so as to be able to judge of the humours, behaviours and dispositions of man.

This promotion of the work of the secretary into a profession is an interesting evolution from the earlier pursuit of letter-writing. It is a case of specialism in learning—taken from the classical field in the first instance—as we see in the School Exercise of Writing Latin Epistles, and gradually differentiated for practical purposes, until the epistle becomes the basis of the secretarial profession, as developed in the later edition of Angel Day's *English Secretary*.

Amongst other books on letter-writing in English were:

1574. The *Epistles of Sir Anthony of Guevara*....Translated from the Spanish by E. Hellowes[1].

1575. Sir Geoffrey Fenton: *Golden Epistles*, contayning varietie of discourse, both Morall, Philosophicall, and Divine: gathered, as wel out of the remaynder of Gueuarues woorkes, as other Authours, Latine, French, and Italian, sm. 4to. 1575; 1577; 1582.

1576. Abraham Fleming: *A Panoplie of epistles. Or, a looking glasse for the unlearned. Conteyning a perfecte plattform of inditing letters of all sorts, to persons of all estates and degrees, as well our superiors, as also our equals and inferiours: used of the best and the eloquentest Rhetoricians that have lived in all ages, and have been famous in that facultie. London.* 1576.

This is an interesting collection of letters selected from classical and renascence writers, and translated into English. The matter of the letters is chosen with considerable care. For instance, Fleming includes the letter (of considerable length) of John Ludovicus Vives containing an account of various letter-writers, and his estimation of their worth, and of their characteristics.

[1] *See* J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Lit.*, p. 383. Also for Hellowes, *see ibid.* p. 251.

The extracts are preceded by an epitome of precepts whereby the ignorant may learn to indite, according to skill and order, reduced into a dialogue between the masters and scholar.

Of less representativeness in quotations from good writers and much smaller is the following book:

1586. William Fulwood.

The Enimie of Idlenesse: Teaching a perfect platforme how to indite Epistles and Letters of all sortes: as well by answers as otherwise: no less profitable than pleasant. London. 1586.

This contains instructions for the inditing of epistles and letters with their examples—all, of course, in English. Letters are given as models for all kinds of occasions, e.g. to excuse oneself for being negligent in writing, to require aid at one's friend's hand in time of poverty, to express gratitude for a benefit, and a letter for the lover writing to his lady, and the answer of his lady.

Another of these books, a translation from the French, sufficiently explained by its title, is:

The Secretary in Fashion, or An Elegant and Compendious way of Writing all manner of Letters. Composed in French by S^r [Jean Puget] de la Serre.

This book was translated into English by J. Massinger in 1640—and reached a fifth edition in 1673.

There were other collections of Model Letters for different occasions, but scarcely of the standing of Angel Day, Abraham Fleming, and William Fulwood.

Letter-writing was a form of composition much more cultivated in the past than in the present[1]. In former times, letter-writing, as George Eliot remarks, formerly, very largely took the place which is now supplied by the magazines, reviews, and

[1] As to the Middle Ages, *see* N. Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistola apud Gallicos Medii Ævi Scriptores*, 1880.

newspapers. Although the training of Grammar Schools was formalistic, it no doubt supplied the real need felt of training skill in the arrangement of subject-matter, and in cultivating the power of 'invention' of topics for discourse.

The following instances show the place of the Epistle in School Statutes.

Cuckfield Grammar School (c. 1528).

In the fifth Form at Cuckfield the boys were to compose Epistles.

East Retford School Statutes (1552).

The fourth Form 'shall write every week some Epistle in Latin and give it to the said Master or Usher at the end of the week.'

Rivington Grammar School Statutes (1566).

'And the elder sort must be exercised in devising and writing sundry epistles to sundry persons, of sundry matters, as of chiding, exhorting, comforting, counselling, praying, lamenting, some to friends, some to foes, some to strangers; of weighty matters, or merry, as shooting, hunting, &c., of adversity, or prosperity, of war, and peace, divine and profane, of all sciences, and occupations, some long and some short; or else in making verses, orations and declamations, and noting the parts of them, in such things as they do read according to the rules of rhetoric.'

Bangor Friars' School Statutes (1568).

The first two forms are required to do 'some epistle or epigram in verse that the said scholars have premeditated in the forepart of the week besides their ordinary lessons.'

They are required, in the fifth Form, to read Erasmus: *de conscribendis Epistolis.*

Durham School.

'As soon as the boy hath any perceiving in Latin he is to make one epistle weekly of his own mind both in matter and

words according to the principles of Erasmus or Ludovicus Vives in their books *de Scribendis* which shall be showed upon Saturday.'

The Orders of Durham School (1593) require the boys to frame Epistles in Latin and Greek[1].

Heath Grammar School Statutes (c. 1600).

'All the scholars under the Master (if Thursday be a play-day) must on Friday in the morning bring epistles with good invention, orthography and disposition, the lowest form in English, the two next in Latin, the first four every third Friday in verse, every second Friday in Greek prose.'

[1] At Durham (1593) the boys were recommended, 'for recreation's sake, to read the *Epistles* of Mr Ascham or Paulus Manutius.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

THEME WRITING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 17TH CENTURY WITH NOTE ON ERASMUS'S *DE COPIA*.

In the *Ludus Literarius*, Spoudeus states the common Grammar School method of Theme-writing:

'I have given them a Theme to make, following the example in their book, to prosecute the same parts of the Theme; as *Exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, *conclusio*, and also to follow the several places, to amplify each thing by. I have withal showed them how to do it: as to try what they could gather of themselves; and withal to seek Tullie's sentences what they could find out of it, or out of other books to their purpose[1].'

The custom in schools, which Spoudeus followed, was to use Aphthonius[2] as the text-book and to begin with the models

[1] The ill-success of such generalised precepts is mournfully acknowledged by Spoudeus. 'What my children have done hereby, they have done it with exceeding pains and fear, and yet too too weakly, in harsh phrase, without any invention, or judgment; and ordinarily so rudely, that I have been ashamed that any one should see their exercises. So as it hath driven me into exceeding passions, causing me to deal over-rigorously with the poor boys.'

[2] i.e. Aphthonius of Antioch, the rhetorician and sophist who lived in the 3rd century. His work on rhetoric in Greek was called *Progymnasmata* (*Graece*). It was first printed in the *Rhaetores Graeci Venetiis apud Aldum*, 1508, fol. 2 vols. It was translated into Latin by Natalis Comes, 1515. There were many editions. The Elzevir edition of 1626, 8vo., includes Greek and Latin texts. There was a London edition 1583, and again in 1650.

presented by Aphthonius on the subjects of the Apologus or Fables or with a 'chreia.' All the technicalities in Aphthonius, right enough for an 'ancient learned schoolmaster,' who has insight into logic and is well-read in 'moral matters' of discourse, are clearly ill-suited to children. 'They make,' says Philoponus, 'the *ludus literarius* into a *carnificina* or *pistrinum literarium*,' and again, 'it is the master rather than the scholar who deserves the thrashings consequent upon getting the boy to do that which the master himself has no reason to suppose the boy can be expected to be able to do.'

The Theme, in Brinsley's view, is a moral or political subject, having relation to life, and especially such as concerns virtues and vices. The gravest of problems in Theme-writing is how to get suitable material for discourse. The object of a good Theme is the presentation of such adequate subject-matter as may inculcate love of virtue and hatred of vice.

The methods to be adopted are: thorough reading of school-authors, on moral matters, e.g. the *Sententiae pueriles*, Cato, Aesop's *Fables*: and frequent reading of Tullie's *Sententiae*. Then the clear presentation to the pupil of 'precedents' or examples in two kinds of books, one containing variety of the best matter, another a text-book showing the whole form and frame of the Theme.

As for variety of matter, Reusner's *Symbola* (an Oxford edition was printed 1633) is written familiarly and plainly.

The book is otherwise known as *Symbola Heroica*. Reusner treats of 64 Emperors in his first book; 46 in the second; 44 in the third. His method of treatment is as follows: The symbol is given, say of Julius Caesar, 'Semel quam semper'; of Augustus Caesar, 'Festina lente'; of Tiberius Caesar, 'Melius tendere quam deglubere.' So with each of the Emperors described. The symbol is then explained. Thus of the symbol of Julius Caesar:

> Satius est mori, quam assidua spe et expectatione vitam perdere.
> Praestat insidias Semel subire quam sic insidias cavere Semper.

Next, illustrative quotations are given in concise form to describe the reign:

'Multi iniqui atque infideles regno, pauci boni;' says Accius in Cicero *de Offic.* and Seneca says in *Thebais* [i.e. the *Phoenissae*] (line 655):

> 'Simul ista mundi conditor posuit Deus;
> Odium atque regnum.'

A brief description is given of Julius Caesar's life, the details of which are supposed to be known by the reader, and the symbol is then brought home further by explanation. 'If it were announced to him that plots on every side were threatening him,' he said, 'Is it not enough to encounter plots when they come to a head instead of always preparing against them, signifying that he is not really living who is in perpetual fear of death. This is to die not once but many times.' Aeschylus in Greek and Seneca in Latin are here quoted on this point, Seneca being represented by three quotations. Further quotations follow from Cassidorus, Julius Celsus and Publius Mimus [i.e. Publilius Syrus]. Finally Cicero's *de Officiis* is quoted.

The book, therefore, is a collection of character sketches, epigrammatically summarised and then expanded, but above all, treated symbolically so as to pourtray from the concrete instance some instruction, by way of example or warning, helpful towards the inoculation of prudence, wisdom and morality. It is to be noted that the series include Emperors ranging from Julius Caesar to Constantine the Great; from Constantine the Great to Charlemagne; and from Charlemagne to the Emperor Ferdinand II[1]. The book therefore is

[1] It is from books such as this of Reusner that the pupils in the Grammar Schools were introduced to the subject of modern history. There was no systematic study of history as such, but the origins of history-teaching in schools may be traced in the necessity for seeking material for themes on subjects of contemporary interest, particularly on ancient, mediaeval and modern great characters and important events, and

at once classical, mediaeval, Roman and European in its historical scope, moral in its aim, and useful for phrases and for subject-matter for themes.

After Reusner's *Symbola*, Brinsley recommends Erasmus's *Adagia* as a rich storehouse to assist the pupil in the composition of themes. The large folio *Adagia* of Erasmus was published by Aldus at Venice in 1508. The Aldine edition is not the first, for the *Adagia* had been published at Paris in 1500, but in a much shorter form. In the earliest form it consisted of some 800 proverbs, but in the later of 4151. Mr R. B. Drummond gives a long and very interesting account of the book and its compilation. He thus speaks of the *Adagia*:

'What a boon it must have been to the student in an age when books were rare and expensive, supplying him as it did, with apt and elegant phraseology on all sorts of subjects, serving as an introduction to the Greek and Latin classics, and furnishing besides eloquent declamations against kings and monks, war and priestcraft. To those, too, who desired an easy method of learning Greek, it must have been a valuable aid, all the Greek quotations, of which there were several thousands, being carefully rendered into Latin. Thus, besides to a great extent serving the purpose of a dictionary and a grammar, it is a common-place book, a journal and a book of travels, all in one[1].'

Another book of Apophthegms, commonly used in 17th century Grammar Schools, was the collection of Conrad Lycosthenes, *Apophthegmata*. It was written in 1555 and published in folio form at Basle. The edition which Brinsley recommends is that printed in London by G. Bishop in 1596. Brinsley would have teachers on their guard against the edition of 1603, printed at Cologne. This edition, he says, is augmented and corrupted by the Jesuits. It is

for *historical illustrations* in dealing with themes on all kinds of topics. Many of the subjects for themes were on topics of the keenest contemporary interest. Cf. p. 438 *infra*.

[1] *Life of Erasmus*, I. Chap. x.

'dangerously corrupted with Popery, and railing against King Henry VIII, King Edward and our late blessed Queen; and therefore not to be permitted unto children.'

Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, says Brinsley, 'is of good use.' Its function for Brinsley was to supply quotations on all subjects so as to serve as material for Latin composition. There was indeed sufficient scope, in a book of 800 pages with double columns, somewhat closely printed[1]. There are about 700 subjects on which Apophthegms are given. The subjects largely relate to moral, social, practical life. The subject of bad and ignorant teachers is treated, though the subjects are usually abstract virtues, duties, relations, conditions and so on.

The 1633 edition names 56 Greek authors, and 40 old Latin authors from whom have been collected the Apophthegms for the work, and 73 more recent Latin writers. In addition, it is significant that further quotations come from annalists and historians of modern countries, e.g. England, Austria, Flanders, Germany, Switzerland, as well as certain monasteries. After the Apophthegms have been given (amongst which those of Erasmus form a considerable number) Lycosthenes offers an alphabetically arranged collection of the whole of the *Parabola sive Similitudines* of Erasmus, stating the source in each case.

The other Latin authors suggested by Brinsley for furnishing matter for Themes are:

Zegedine: *Philosophia Poetica* ('Sentences selected out of the best authors, adjoining to Tullie's Sentences').

Brinsley considers that Reusner, Erasmus's *Adagia*, Aphthonius and Lycosthenes may 'serve in place of many,' though he proceeds to name other books.

Flores Poetarum[2].

The object of the inclusion of this book in a list of books

[1] In the edition of 1633.

[2] *See* Note to Chap. XXIX.

of subject-matter for themes is, in Brinsley's words, 'for verses to flourish withal.'

'Tullie's *Paradoxes*.'

Next to the examples in Aphthonius[1], which are easier, 'Tullie's *Paradoxes*' are 'most singular patterns for true Rhetoric' in Themes. But the sources of material for Themes are not confined to writers in Latin. Some 'notable' works are written in English. Brinsley has his eye ever on the improvement of the English of the pupils, as a necessary accompaniment *pari passu* with progress in Latin.

His list is therefore interesting: The 'moral' part of the *French Academy*, *Charactery*, *Moral Philosophy*, *Golden Grove*, *Wit's Commonwealth*, *Civil Conversation*, and *The Art of Meditation*[2]. Unfortunately they were chiefly translations. Their fuller titles are as follows:

French Academy.

The French Academie wherein is discoursed the institution of Manners, and whatsoever else concerneth the good and happie life of all estates and callings, by precepts of doctrine and examples of the lives of ancient sages and famous men: By Peter de la Primaudaye Esquire, Lord of the said place, and of Baree, one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of the King's Chamber: dedicated to the most Christian King Henrie the third, and newly translated into English by T. B. The fourth edition Londini, 1602. 4°.

[T. B. = ? Thomas Bowes or Thomas Beard.]
1st edition 1586 (?), 1st French edition 1577 (?).

Moral Philosophy.

A Treatise of Morall Philosophie contayning the sayings of the wise. Wherein you may see the worthie and pithie sayings of Philosophers, Emperors, Kings and Oratours: of their lives,

[1] Aphthonius wrote in Greek (*see* Note on p. 422) but was usually read in schools in a Latin translation.

[2] I am not clear as to the identification of the *Art of Meditation*.

their answers, of what linage they come of, and of what countrie they were: whose worthier sentences, notable precepts, counsels, parables, and semblables, doe hereafter follow.

First gathered and partly set fourth by William Baudwin, and now the fourth time since that inlarged by Thomas Paulfreyman, one of the Gentlemen of the Queene's Majesties Chappell. If wisdome enter into thine heart, and thy soule delight in knowledge: then shall counsel preserve thee, and understanding shall keepe thee. Proverbs II.

¶ Imprinted at London, by Thomas Este. 1600.

Golden Grove.

The Golden Groue, moralized in three Bookes: a Work very necessary for all such as would know how to gouerne themselves, their houses, or their countrey.

Made by W. Vaughan, Master of Artes, and Graduate in the Civill Law. The Second Edition, now lately reuiewed and enlarged by the Authour. Imprinted at London. 1608.

Wit's Commonwealth.

Politeuphuia. Wit's Commonwealth...At London, Printed by I. R. for Nicholas Ling, and are to be sold at the west doore of Paules. 1597. 8°.

(By N. Ling. The book consists of a collection of epigrams on all sorts of subjects.) The selection given below shows the view of the work of teaching.

'*Women in Schools.*'

'Women ought to have as great interest in Schools as men; though not so soon as men, because their wits being more perfect, they would make men's reputations less perfect.

'Women prove the best School-maisters, when they place their best delights in instructions.

'Children ought to be school-prentices, the space of two or three years.

'A school should contain four principal rudiments, that is, Grammar, Exercise, Music, and Painting.

'Grammar is the door to Sciences, whereby we learn to speak well and exactly.

'If the royalist born have not his nature refined with School rudiments, it is gross and barbarous...Lions are tamer than men, if doctrine did not hide them...Educatio est prima, secunda, tertia pars vitae, sine qua omnis doctrina, est veluti armata injustitia.'

Civil Conversation[1].

The civile Conversation of M. S. Guazzo, written first in Italian, divided into foure books, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie...In the fourth is set down the forme of Civile Conversation...translated out of Italian...by B. Young. 4to.

There were many books of this kind available besides those mentioned by Brinsley, e.g.

Witt's Recreations. Selected from the finest Fancies of Moderne Muses. With a Thousand out Landish Proverbs selected by Mr G(eorge) H(erbert)[2] 2 pt. Printed by R. H. for Humph. Blunden. Lond. 1640. 8°.

(Another Edition.) *Augmented with Ingenious conceites for the wittie and Merrie Medecines for the Melancholie.* (*Containing* 630 *epigrams*, 160 *Epitaphs. Variety of Fancies and Fantasticks Good for melancholy humours.*) Printed by T. Cotes for Humph. Blunden: Lond. 1641. 8°.

In 1645 the 160 epitaphs become 180, and the selection of epigrams varies considerably from the previous edition. In 1650 over 60 poems are added to the book, the epigrams are 700 and the epitaphs 200.

We must turn to the *Form of the Theme* and the manner of its treatment. The best text-book for this purpose Brinsley considers is, despite his drawbacks, the *Progymnasmata* of

[1] *See* p. 125.

[2] i.e. from George Herbert's *Jacula Prudentum.*

Aphthonius. There was a London edition in 1583. The subjects treated by Aphthonius are:

Fabula, Narratio, Chr(e)ia, Sententia, Confutatio, Confirmatio, Locus communis, Laudatio, Vituperatio, Comparatio, Ethopoeia, Descriptio, Thesis, Legislatio.

The following table gives Aphthonius's general scheme for the construction of fictiones or theses:

Quorum illa sunt generis	Deliberativus	Fabula Narratio Chreia Sententia Thesis
	Judicialis	Confirmatio Confutatio Locus communis
	Demonstrativus	Laus Vituperatio Imitatio Comparatio

Of each of these subjects examples are given.

As Aphthonius is the author of the book particularly emphasised as the best text-book for the writing of themes, by John Brinsley, a good deal of light is thrown upon the old Grammar School methods by the perusal of Aphthonius[1].

The Fabula, or Μῦθος is first described. It is the form of composition, especially befitting admonition, and suitable for instructing the unskilled. Fabula is *sermo falsus, veritatem effingens*. The Fable should be termed the Aesopic (Aesopica) method, for Aesop was the best of all writers of fables. Fables are of different kinds; some rational, others moral, and some are mixed. The rational fable is the form of writing in which we picture a human being doing something; moral, the one

[1] Aphthonius is prescribed by Statute for some schools. For instance, in Sandwich Grammar School (1580): 'The first Form in the Master's charge shall have read unto them ... Aphthonii *Progymnasmata*, and be exercised in varying of Latin and in practising the exercises of Aphthonius at times appointed and other like by discretion.'

in which those lacking morality imitate those who possess it. The mixed fables are those in which rational and irrational creatures are joined. If the moral is put first the fable is a προμύθιον, if after, an ἐπιμύθιον. Then follow examples of all these types of fables.

In the Scholia on the Fable Quintilian's dictum is quoted and an appeal made to classical writers as to the use of fables. The use is illustrated by reference to Varro, Priscian, Erasmus and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Reference is then made to the poet Hesiod, the first of all to write fables. The *Odyssey* is a type of virtue (exemplar virtutis, *see* Horat. 1, Epistolarum 2). Orators used fables, e.g. Menenius Agrippa, who told the fable of the revolt of the members of the body against the belly. So, too, examples are given from Themistocles, Demosthenes, Atticus (*see* Aulus Gellius lib. 19, cap. 12). Philosophers also used fables in their arguments, on which point *see* Macrobius *de Som. Scip.* lib. 1, cap. 2, Plato lib. 2 *de Repub.* and Cicero *Offic.* 3, *de Gygis annulo*. Examples are then given of rational, moral and mixed fables, after which Aphthonius proceeds to the treatment or composition of fables, showing longer and shorter methods of exposition, and illustrating whenever possible from classical examples. It is clear that this method introduces the pupil to many classical passages, each under its rhetorical head. Thus we have Exemplum Apologi, and the fable of the town mouse and the country mouse briefly told in prose. Aphthonius adds the fuller poetical passage from Horace. He gives a lengthy example from Aulus Gellius (lib. 2, cap. 27) to illustrate the Aesopian motto: 'Don't expect from friends what you can do for yourself.' Finally taking Hesiod's fable of the hawk and the nightingale, he shows the following disciplinary methods of dealing with it:

1. *Breviter prolata*, the concise statement of the fable.
2. *Eadem dilatata, ab auctoris laude*, the amplification by praise on the writer of the fable.

3. *A praefabulari* giving the moral and quoting a proverb in its support.
4. *A natura accipitris,* illustrative matter, in this case, e.g. quoting Ovid who says we hate hawks because they pounce on the dead after the battle.
5. *A sermocinatione per prosopopoeiam*[1], i.e. attaching a dignity to one's discourse by citing some one else's saying on the subject.
6. *A Collatione*, the introduction of Comparison.
7. *A contrario*, the production of a quotation or argument as to the opposite of what is maintained in the thesis, together with the confutation.

The Conclusion.

It was the work of the pupil to take other fables from Aesop and other authors and deal with them in the same way as the above model.

A thesis is a general inquiry or investigation of a subject by means of an oration. Some are on civil matters, some contemplative (viz. *civil*, e.g. An ducenda sit uxor? or *contemplative*, e.g. An globosum coelum? An multi sint mundi?).

Aphthonius next proceeds to expound the principles of Narration. The following is his scheme:

Narrationi accidunt sex	Persona faciens Res gesta Tempus, circa quod Locus, in quo transacta Modus, quo pacto Causa, propter quam
Virtutis ejus quatuor	Claritas, seu perspicuitas Brevitas Probabilitas quae πιθανότης dicitur Electorum verborum proprietas

[1] Beginning as e.g. Fer mansuete fortunam. Noli extinctam extinguere. Parce mihi per ea quae tibi dulcissima sunt in vita. Miserere infoelicis. Respice innocentiam meam, etc., etc.

Loci communes are subjects which are of use to literature and humanism put under heads, as fortuna, opes, honores, vita, mors, virtus, prudentia, justitia, liberalitas, temperantia and their opposites, as Melanchthon says, in his first book of *Rhetorica*, on the use of which the best writers are Rodolphus Agricola in his Epistle *de ratione studii* and Erasmus in his second book of *Copia*.

Brinsley, following the custom of the time, for young writers of Themes would choose subjects from Aphthonius, and ask the pupils first for the arguments of Aphthonius as to the Cause, Effect, Contrary, Similitude, Example, Testimony. Secondly, he would ask the boys for arguments of their own. Thirdly, he asks for any objections against the *thesis* proposed 'or if it be true, what absurdities and inconveniences will follow of it; and also some of them to answer the objections and inconveniences; and, lastly myself to supply their wants and failings.' The boys then are to supply any point in the subject from their reading or from their Books of Commonplaces.

The parts of a Theme must be always observed: The Exordium, Narratio, Confirmatio, Confutatio, Conclusio.

The *Exordium*, which should be relatively short, will praise or blame the person, if a person is the subject. If the subject of the Theme is a thing, the exordium will commend or give grounds for disapproving.

In the *Narratio*, there will be complete disclosing of the subject in hand. The nature, circumstances, manner, etc. will be fully described. All doubtful words or phrases regarding the subject are here cleared up.

In the *Confirmatio*, all principal reasons gathered from reading of Authors are given, and particularly the pupil is to 'invent' reasons and arguments on the subject if it be a *thesis* which he is maintaining. These will be put under the 'heads of Invention' which include aspects such as Causes, Effects, Subjects, Adjuncts, etc. In stating these, some of the stronger

arguments will be put first, weaker in the middle, reserving some of the strongest reasons to the last, 'crossing and leaving out the weak ones when these would discredit the rest.'

Confutatio includes arguments urged in objection to the *thesis*, together with the answers to the objections.

The *Conclusio*[1] is the collection of the reasons. It may include a short recapitulation of the 'sum of the reasons,' and any statement which will leave a firm impression of the *thesis* on the hearers.

When the Theme is completed (it may for the beginner be only 12 or 16 lines and may apparently be a home lesson) the pupil brings it and the next day, 'pronounces his Theme without book, the master meantime taking the pupil's MS. and serving out all mistakes to be afterwards corrected.' The master is enjoined to see later that the corrections have actually been made. In the more advanced stage, one Theme a week well performed satisfies Brinsley.

Declamations.

The Declamation is a Theme which has a disputable subject. The affirmative side is taken by one speaker; the negative by a second, and a third 'moderates' or 'determines' between the two. Brinsley cites as a precedent or example the Thesis in Aphthonius handled both affirmatively and negatively, *Uxor est ducenda*, *Uxor non est ducenda*. Or the Declamation may be an invective against a vice. Patterns are to be found in Cicero's *Orations* and especially the Invective against Catiline. This kind of Theme lends itself to greater array of Figures of Speech, which are the 'life and strength of an oration.'

Brinsley considers Declamation is an exercise for the University rather than the Grammar School.

[1] For variety of Exordiums and Conclusions Brinsley refers the Master to Aphthonius: *Progymnasmata*, and Stockwood: *Disputatiuncularum Grammaticalium libellus* (*see* p. 96).

For pupils to pronounce a Theme *ex tempore* for a quarter of an hour is creditable, says Brinsley, if it be done in a scholarly way. It requires reading and practice on moral matters. The regular written exercise of Theme-making is a necessary preparative. Brinsley requires the boys to begin the Exordium of a Theme, and contend with one another at the 'bettering' of suggested phrases of an author, both in English and in Latin. They must be sharpened up in forms of Exordiums and Conclusions. They must think out phrases and how they would vary them in English. They should then use Holyoke's *Dictionary*[1] for words; for phrases *Manutius* or Drax's *Calliepeïa*. So as to be able to vary the Theme in word and phrase the principal words and phrases which concern the Theme, should be thought over beforehand, so that the pupil when he deals with the Theme *ex tempore*, shall have the material in his mind for direct and immediate choice on the occasions of delivery of the Theme. Then, too, there will be a manifest advantage for the boy who has kept his common-place book. This may well be done by boys if the Book of Reference be printed with quite general heads of matter, and quotations be inserted from only three or four chief authors such as Reusner, Erasmus's *Adagia*, Tullie's *Sententiae*, etc., with reference to book and page where a passage can be found. But such collections will never relieve the pupil from the necessity of 'invention' of matter of his own. As to the stores of phrases *Calliepeïa*, Erasmus's *de Copia*, Macropedius[2] will be of great service, and especially Erasmus, *de Copia*[3].

Phrases Linguae Latinae, ab Aldo Manutio P. F. Conscriptae: nunc primum in ordinem Abecedarium adductae et in Anglicum sermonem conversae. Accessit huc index dictionum Anglicarum, cuius ope quilibet hic libello quam commodissime uti poterit. Londini. 1599.

[1] p. 391 *supra*. [2] *See* p. 411. [3] p. 437.

The following are the full titles of books recommended by Brinsley:

Calliepëia: Or a rich store-house of proper, choice and elegant Latin words, and phrases, collected (for the most part) out of all Tullie's works; and for the use and benefit of scholars, digested into an Alphabetical order. The second impression reformed, refined and very much enlarged. By Thomas Drax. 1613.

Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima, Or Treasurie of ancient Adagies, and sententious Prouerbes, selected out of the English, Greeke, Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish. Ranked in Alphabeticall order, and suited to one and the same sense. Published by Thomas Draxe Batch. in Divinitie. Londini. 1633.

D. Erasmi Roterodami de duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo; multa accessione novisque formulis locupletati. Londini. 1573.

The following are examples of the requirement of Theme-teaching:

1528. *Cardinal Wolsey's Plan of Studies for Ipswich Grammar School.*

In the eighth class, 'To conclude you may exhibit, if you please, some formulae, which serving as a guide, a given theme may be conveniently treated.'

1590. *Harrow School* (*Orders*).

In the fifth form, they shall learn to make a Theme.

1593. *Durham School* (*Orders*).

The boys 'to learn to make a theme according to the precepts of Aphthonius,' after they have learned letter-writing.

c. 1600. *Heath* (*near Halifax*) *Grammar School* (*Statutes*).

The boys 'to learn to make themes with good phrase,' after learning 'to indite epistles scholarlike.'

1621–8. *Westminster School. Laud's transcript of Orders.* Sixth and seventh Forms.

'Betwixt 4 and 5 they repeated a leafe or two out of some booke of Rhetoricall figures, or choice proverbs and sentences collected by the M^r. for that use. After that they were practised in translating some Dictamina out of Lat. or G^r. and sometimes turning Lat. and G^r. verse into English verse. Then a theame was given to them whereon to make prose and verses, Lat. and G^r. against the next morning.'

In the *Victoria County History of Hampshire* (II, p. 311), Mr Leach gives the reference for examples of Themes at Winchester College: 'See *Add. MS.* 4379 *Brit. Mus.*'

Note.

The de Copia of Erasmus.

The *de Copia* of Erasmus was first published in 1511. More exactly it is called the *de duplici copia verborum et rerum*. It is a treatise on style in composition, from the twofold points of view of the language used and the subject-matter of composition. The language used in writing ought always to be fitting,—'What clothing is to the body, style is to the thought.' The *Copia* is intended to be a guide to the best modes of expression in words, phrases, and both grammatical and rhetorical forms. All these suggest the necessity and the limits of variation. Power to vary phrases can only be obtained by practice. Erasmus sets the example of varying phrases by taking the sentence: *Tuae literae me magnopere delectarunt*, and giving, as Paulsen estimates, over 150 variations all in accordance with rules of rhetoric. Similarly, he deals with the sentence *Semper dum vivam, tui meminero*. He links this sentence with the name of Sir Thomas More. The sentiment of the remembrance of Sir Thomas More, as long as Erasmus has life, is then varied, like the preceding sentence, in over 150 different ways. Erasmus then shows the reader how to cultivate methods of enlarging on a topic, as for instance the introduction of the fable, apologue, proverb, similitude, analogy and so on. To make an oration as copious as possible, the student must neither use empty words, nor exclude the fullest variety. He must be prepared to seek examples both of what has been done and said in former times, and in public customs, as contained in precedents

(exempla) taken from a choice of authors, historical and poetical, and the latter from writers of comedies, tragedies, epigrams, heroics, and bucolics, from the various sects of philosophers and from the sacred volumes of theologians. Then, too, examples should be taken from divers nations; some precepts and ordinances are Roman; some Greek; and amongst the Greek some Spartan, some Cretan, others Athenian. Also, others are African, Hebrew, Spanish, French, English. Again there are varieties of time. Some are ancient, some mediaeval, others modern. Some, moreover, are domestic. They differ in quality of subject: military, civil, some from the side of mercy, some from bravery, some from that of wisdom. Examples are infinite. Lastly, to mention the rank of the person about whom the example is written: there are princes, judges, parents, slaves, the poor, the rich, women, maidens, boys. These examples therefore on any one subject are very varied both in collection and in application, not only from every kind of Greek and Latin writer, but also from the annals of barbarians; then at length they come into the popular tradition. But the old examples of the illustrations of our own nation and family especially stir the minds of each race, according to their birth[1]. And in less proportion they affect the woman, boy, slave, barbarian.

There is no branch of learning which is out of relation to Rhetoric. You can enrich an oration from every branch. You might not think Mathematics would help. But even Mathematics and Physics will supply illustrative enrichment.

The *de Copia* is based on rules adopted from Aristotle, Hermogenes, Quintilian and other writers on rhetoric, but the examples for the most part are those of Erasmus. He gives direction for the collection of loci communes, or common-place book. The practice of compiling these books of phrases and passages, which by being placed under heads which could be easily found, became a distinct school method, and one of high educational value. For the collection was the pupil's own, and the process of selection, whilst it exercised his memory by writing out the passages, quickened and strengthened his taste and judgment.

In spite of the depreciatory criticism of Budaeus and others, Erasmus's *de Copia* became very popular. It contained what was wanted—the methods of obtaining material for subjects of composition—and it afforded canons of style. It had got the roots of the matter, the plea for brevity—but brevity which should leave out nothing that is necessary to be said—and the plea for copiousness, but such that the composition should not be perturbed and confused with *rerum indigesta turba*.

[1] It is to passages such as this that we must refer for origins of school-teaching of history. Compare note to p. 424 *supra*.

In the 16th century, the *de Copia* was in England as on the Continent the leading school-book dealing with the principles of Latin composition for themes and orations. It was prescribed by Statute (1518) in Dean Colet's School of St Paul's, and of course had been in use there from the first publication. In 1545–7 it is in the valuable time-table of Saffron Walden—one of the books for Forms VI and VII. At Bury St Edmunds (Statutes ? 1550) the *de Copia* is required in the second Form, and at East Retford Grammar School (1552) in the third Form. In the statutes drawn up by Dean Nowell for the Friars' School, Bangor (1568), Erasmus's *de Copia* is put down for Form IV. In 1612 Brinsley says: 'There may be also other helps for varying: as the rules in Erasmus's *de Copia*, in Macropedius and others; and more especially some select phrases to several purposes noted in Erasmus's *de Copia*[1].'

[1] There is an account of the school method of equipping the pupils with *copia verborum* in the 16th century with especial reference to Sturm's School of Strassburg in *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm par Charles Schmidt* (1855), pp. 247–257.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TEACHING OF RHETORIC.

THERE is no evidence of the systematic school-teaching of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages—beyond the rules of verse-making and the very slight reading of poets. It is a Renascence subject. Grammar and Rhetoric then vied with Logic, and both these subjects effected an easy conquest over Logic in school studies. With regard to Grammar we have seen there were conflicting opinions, but in the inclusion of Rhetoric in the well-organised school of the 16th and 17th centuries there was general agreement. Again following Brinsley and Hoole, the description of books mentioned by them in the school teaching of Rhetoric becomes the more necessary, seeing that the study of Rhetoric has declined so greatly since their time, that it is difficult to realise the position it held, unless we make a somewhat close study of the text-books.

The teaching of Rhetoric is emphasized by Wolsey in the Statutes for Ipswich School (1528). The Elizabethan schools included it, if not specifically as a separate subject, at least in the manner and spirit of reading classical authors as well as in the exercises of the theme and oration. Indeed, if there is one school subject which seems to have pre-eminently influenced the writers, statesmen and gentlemen of the 16th and 17th centuries, in their intellectual outfit in after life, probably the claim for this leading position may justly be made for Rhetoric and the Oration.

Though letter-writing is of sufficient importance to justify Hoole, as we have seen, in requiring even the sixth Form to keep before themselves the great letter-writers of the past as models, still it is to the theme and to the oration that the best

work of the Grammar School is required to tend. The theme is the highest product of the written exercise, and the oration is the climax of the ambition of the schoolboy in his speaking of Latin. The speaking of Latin, it must always be remembered, was regarded in the first half of the 17th century at least as important, let us say, as the speaking of French or German now in a good secondary school.

If, then, the speaking of Latin was a direct aim of school instruction—Rhetoric could certainly not fail to be one of the honoured subjects of school instruction. The chief text-books used in English schools were those of Audomarus Talaeus and Charles Butler. Talaeus's *Rhetoric* was published as early as 1547. Ramus, in his preface to an edition of Talaeus in 1579 says, that in the two books, into which the volume is divided, are contained the rhetoric of elocution and of action as written by Talaeus. It includes everything written in the art by Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero and Quintilian sufficiently and closely expounded. This subject-matter has been demonstrated and illustrated by examples taken from poets and orators. 'As far as I can gather,' says Ramus, 'the praise of grammar is best cultivated by few precepts, and constant practice. If rhetoric should thus be taught and practised it would show as many orators as to-day we see grammarians.'

Charles Butler's book is entitled:

Rhetoricae libri duo, quorum Prior de Tropis et Figuris, Posterior de Voce et gestu, Praecipue in usum scholarum accuratius editi. Oxoniae 1600. Editions in 1629, 1642, 1649.

The notes to the various chapters to Butler's *Rhetoric* contain a large number of illustrative, interesting quotations, principally from classical Latin authors. Once, at any rate, Butler breaks out with an English quotation. He is dealing with the subject of rhythm and quotes two verses from Edmund Spenser:

Deeds soone doe die however nobly done,
And thoughts of men doe as themselves decay:
But wise words taught in numbers for to runne,
Recorded by the Muses, live for aye:
Ne may with storming showers be washt away:
Ne bitter breathing winds with boist'rous blast,
Nor age, nor envy, shall them ever wast.

Et paulo post.

For not to have been dipt in Lethe Lake,
Could save the sonne of Thetis from to die: [Achilles.
But that blinde bard did him immortall make, [Homerus.
With verses dipt in dew of Castalie:
Which made the Easterne Conquerour to crie,
O fortunate young man, whose vertue found
So brave a Trump, thy noble acts to sound.

Thus, through eleven editions of this school-book written in Latin the attention of generations of schoolboys was called to these lines of Spenser, all the more emphatically for being surrounded by Latin on the technical terms of Rhetoric. Nor can one leave the *Rhetoric* of Butler without noting that, when Butler suggests to the readers that observation of the best writers will give the clearest idea as to the effects of rhythm obtained by the vivid disposition of sonorous and resonant syllables, he gives the names of English poets parallel with those of Latin writers.

English literature was not taught in the schools of the first half of the 17th century, but Butler in his Rhetoric takes us very near to the suggestion of it[1].

Hoole deals with the subject of Rhetoric in discussing the work of the fourth Form of the school.

'To enter the boys in that art of fine speaking they may make use of *Elementa Rhetorica* lately printed by Mr Dugard[2], and out of it learn the Tropes and Figures, according to the

[1] It is to the Rhetorics we must look for the *origins* of the Grammar school-teaching of English literature. *See* p. 481.

[2] Head-master of Merchant Taylors' School in the time of the Commonwealth.

definitions given by Talaeus, and afterwards more illustrated by Mr Butler. Out of either of which books, they may be helped with store of examples, to explain the Definitions, so as they may know any Trope or Figure that they may meet with in their own authors. When they have thoroughly learned that little book, they may make a synopsis of it, whereby to see its order, and how everything hangs together, and then write the Commonplace heads in a Paper-book...unto which they may refer whatever they like in the late English Rhetorick, Mr Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus*, Susenbrotus, Mr Horne's *Compendium Rhetorices*, or the like, till they be better able to peruse other authors, that more fully treat of the Art; as Vossius's *Partitiones Oratoriæ*, the *Orator Extemporaneus* (i.e. by Michael Radau) *Tesmari exercitationes Rhetoricæ*, Nic. Caussinus, Paiot *de Eloquentia*, and many others, with which a School Library should be very well furnished for the Scholars to make use of, accordingly as they increase in ability of learning.'

Hoole's list may be taken as a representative list of the school Rhetorics. The inclusion of 'the late *English Rhetorick*[1]' shows that a book not primarily intended for school use was sometimes drawn into the service. In this case, we see Hoole's object was to teach his Latin by first expounding English analogues. Thomas Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus* was a small book in Latin crammed with learned matter[2]. Farnaby was a school-master, but he must have been an exacting teacher if he required his boys to master his *Rhetoric*, which he states is adapted to schools and the instruction of those of a tender age. It contains the *Index Rhetoricus*, which is a table or analysis of all methods of suasion. He then gives chapters on Dispositio, Elocutio, Tropes, Figures, Character, Pronuntiatio,

[1] *See* p. 449 infra. Blount's *Academie of Eloquence* (1654) is entitled at the head of each page of the text 'An English Rhetorique.'

[2] The seriousness with which Farnaby wrote his boys' *Rhetoric* may be judged by the fact that the list of authors from whom Farnaby says he has collected his *Rhetoric* are thirty-two in number.

Excretatio, Imitatio, Lectio, Actio, Communium Locorum Capita and the Formulae. Finally he gives an *Index Poeticus*, which is a comprehensive collection of references to passages in poets and other writers on all sorts of subjects which the theme-writer or verse-writer might be likely to want. The other English writers named, Dugard and Horne, were schoolmasters and their text-books like Farnaby's were written in Latin. Dugard's *Rhetorices elementa* is a book of questions and answers professedly based on Butler's *Rhetoric* which Dugard states 'is commonly used in the schools.' Perhaps the simplest of all the Latin *Rhetorics* published in England definitely designed for school use was that of William Walker (1672) *De Argumentorum Inventione libri duo, Quorum prior agit de Inventione Logica, altera de Inventione Rhetorica.*

The other text-books on Rhetoric in Hoole's list were foreign works, though those of Susenbrotus and Vossius were so far domiciled as to have editions by English printers.

Epitome Troporum ac Schematum et Grammaticorum et Rhetoricorum, Ad Authores tum prophanos tum sacros intelligendos, non minus utilis quam necessaria, Joanne Susenbroto Ravenspurgi Ludimagistro collectore. Index alphabeticus in calce adjectus est. Londini, ex Typographia Societatis Stationariorum. 1621.

Susenbrotus wrote his *Epitome* in 1540. As the volume contains only 91 small octavo pages, Susenbrotus clearly can give but short space to his treatment of each of the 132 Tropes and schemata. It is rather a dictionary with examples of tropes and schemata than a treatise on them. Any of the 132 figures of speech can be found by reference to the alphabetical index. It is not without ground that Susenbrotus calls himself *collector*, but in an age of analysis of the possessions into which scholars had come by the revival of antiquity, no doubt the *Epitome* had its use.

G. J. Vossius's *Rhetorices Contractae sive Partitionum*

Oratoriarum Libri V. 1621, was a learned work with a rich store of classical quotations, illustrating every side of the art of rhetoric. It was the standard short book of Rhetoric for the schools in England and abroad in the middle of the 17th century.

In his *Orator Extemporaneus* (1657) Michael Radau gives an account of the construction of the oration, and supplies a large store of historical illustrations ancient and modern, showing the beginning, indirectly, of history-teaching in the Grammar School—viz. for the sake of composition of themes and orations.

The *Exercitationum Rhetoricarum Libri VIII* of John Tesmarus[1] is a most comprehensive work of 1165 large octavo pages. It contains examples gathered from various good authors, of poems, epistles and orations distributed into subjects didactic, laudatory, deliberative and judicial, wherein the arguments of all the orations of Demosthenes, Isocrates and Cicero are included. Next Tesmarus 'resolves' the writings and orations of Cicero, and discloses the order, position and use of all the Ciceronian writings. He then gives the oratorical views and examples of Antonius Muretus, and deals in detail with the orations of the Latin historians, Livy, Sallust, and treats of exercises in imitation of George Buchanan, of Horace's odes, of Ovid, of Vergil, and gives material for composition from Henricus Smetius, N. Chytraeus, and from the Sacred Scriptures. Further material for poems is supplied from Justinus and N. Reusner, from Natalis and Sabinus. Material is provided next for letter-writing. Finally material is collected for the making of orations—for which nearly 500 pages are devoted to the various kinds of subjects and matter available from the best authors for dealing with orations. Scriptural, moral, theological themes are largely dealt with. 142 themes are suggested with references to the Scriptures, from which suitable material can be obtained. Ethical and 'economic' maxims and sentences serve as subjects for themes and the

[1] Tesmarus, wrongly given as Tresmarus on p. 287.

manner of composition to be adopted is indicated in each case. In the section of Tesmarus which treats of the things which are to be praised and condemned—themes and forms of treatment are suggested of topics arising from sense-experience and observation, e.g. earth, water, air, fire, iron, the clock, and all kinds of general subjects. A method of oration is offered for thanks to a benefactor for his munificence to an educational institute. There is a form to be imitated for praise of schools, praise of peace, the country life and so on.

Religious subjects, e.g. the Christian faith, the name of Jesus, of Christ, of a Christian, the perfect law of God and so on, are copiously treated, and the student is directed how to write themes and orations adequately on these subjects.

Nicolai Caus[s]ini, Trecensis, è societate Jesu, de Eloquentia sacra et humana, Libri XVI. Lutetiae Parisiorum 1630. *3rd edition.*

This Latin work consists of 1010 double columned pages exclusive of the Index. It is divided into three parts though all are comprised in one volume. The parts are: I. The Idea of and Aids to Eloquence. II. On the parts of Eloquence, Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Figures, Emotions (affectus), Pronunciation. III. The threefold nature of Eloquence, epidictic, civil, sacred.

The subjects include the treatment of the old Eloquence of Greeks and Romans, a description of styles, and discussion as to the marks of the best kind of eloquence, the aids to eloquence in the mind, teaching, and imitation. Caussin's division *De Epidictia sive demonstrativa Eloquentia* contains 158 'characters' or hypotyposes—certain living images of things, and compendious schemes of laudations and interpretations. These are taken from the old Greek and Roman authors. It is sufficient to say they include an almost encyclopaedic range of reading extending far beyond 'classical' writers. There are also 'characters' of civil eloquence which give the opportunity for illustrative quotations from Herodotus, Livy, Thucydides

and many other writers. Sacred Eloquence further affords great scope for quotation from early fathers, etc. The book, of course, was altogether too huge to be a school manual. But to such teachers as Horne, Hoole, and Farnaby it was of great attractiveness by its extraordinary wealth of illustration from ancient writers.

The Rhetorics published in England.

The first English Rhetoric, that of the schoolmaster Leonard Cox, was published in 1524. It is called the *Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke.* It is partly translated from a Latin work; partly original. Cox is not ashamed of writing in English, 'remembering that every good thing is the better, the more common it is.' The book follows the ancient writers on Rhetoric and the examples are chiefly taken from Roman history.

In 1553 Sir Thomas Wilson published '*The Arte of Rhetorique, for such as are studious of eloquence.*' This book also was written in English, and is of special interest in tracing the development of the use of the vernacular through Wilson's strong antipathy to 'strange inkhorn terms,' of the written or spoken language of other countries, French or Italian. The advocacy of the use of the pure mother tongue, apart from pedantry either of the scholar or the traveller, makes Wilson a link between Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham. Still from the point of view of the development of school-teaching Wilson's Rhetoric is not so significant as the following book, professedly designed for the use of Grammar Schools, by Richard Sherry, in 1555[1]:

A Treatise of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorike, profitable for al that be studious of eloquence, and in especiall for such as in Grammar scholes doe reade most eloquente Poetes and Oratours: whereunto is joyned the oration which Cicero

[1] There was an earlier edition in 1550, under the title of *A treatise of Schemes and Tropes*, which was issued with a tract of Erasmus on 'Children's Education.'

made to Caesar, giving thankes unto him for pardonyng, and restoring again of that noble man, Marcus Marcellus sette foorth by Richarde Sherrye Londonar Londini in aedibus Totteli.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Sherry's *Rhetoric* is founded on Erasmus's *Copia Verborum*, and intended to make rhetoric more plain to those who 'list to learn in our tongue.' Of great importance in the development of Rhetorics is the view expressed by Sherry:

'Not only profane authors without them may not be well understood, but also they greatly profit us in the reading of holy scripture, where if you be ignorant in the figurative speeches and Tropes, you are like in many great doubts to make but a slender solution, as right well do testify Castalio Vestimerus and that noble doctor Saint Augustine.'

Rhetoric, therefore, by 1555, was a method of study to be applied to the scriptures.

In the two directions, the application of rhetoric to English, after the model of its use in teaching Latin and Greek, and its application to scripture, there was considerable development in the period up to 1660.

First, as to the English Rhetorics. It is to these we ought to look especially to trace the growth of a study of English in the 17th century[1]. I have already shown that Butler's *Rhetoric* was calculated to arouse an interest in English literature. The same is true of Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence* in 1577, of Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetoric* in 1588, and of Thomas Blount's *Academie of Eloquence* in 1654.

Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetoric*, as the title implies, involves an application of the rules of Rhetoric, primarily, to an exposition of the beauties of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and secondarily to other literary works. Fraunce's selections were taken from works in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, so that Rhetoric text-books served the purpose of making known choice passages,

[1] *See* note p. 442.

metaphors, similes etc. for modern languages as well as for Latin. Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetoric* was intended originally for the students of the Inns of Court. Fraunce also published in 1588 *The Lawyers' Logic*[1]. In that book he also pursued the literary method of quoting passages from Sidney and other authors. The fact is that Peter Ramus had introduced the liberal quotation of writers into his works and the method was applied to both Rhetoric and Logic. For this reason the books on both Rhetoric and Logic founded on Ramus are interesting studies.

It was with regard to Ramus's *Rhetoric* that Ascham made his appeal to the student to go back, in preference, to Cicero himself, for not only in Ascham's opinion is Cicero far superior in eloquence to Quintilian, Talaeus and Ramus, but his works are equally superior for *teaching* Rhetoric. On the other hand, Gabriel Harvey, the University Orator, was a great admirer of Ramus and of Talaeus[2]. The essential merit of Ramus, however, from the modern point of view, is that he forms the transitional stage from the restriction of composition to mainly classical subjects, to the widening of Rhetoric to include composition on all kinds of subjects, a movement which led to the inclusion of illustrations from the vernacular and even modern languages.

The following is a further example of the *Rhetoric*, as an instrument for the teaching of English:

The Academie of Eloquence. Containing a Compleat English Rhetorique, Exemplified, with Common Places, and Formes, digested into an easie and Methodical way to speak and write fluently. By Tho. Blount, Gent. Lond. 1654.

The Preface is interesting in that it is addressed to 'all Noble Gentlemen and *Ladies* of England.' The author says he has included some of the choicest flowers in our English Garden.

[1] *See* p. 88. [2] *See* Harvey's *Rhetor*, 1577.

The following passage from Blount's book shows the transference of rules to be found in the Latin Rhetorics to English composition, and at the same time illustrates the position of 'science' as ordinarily held by teachers—viz. its usefulness for the purpose of suitable similitudes.

'Therefore for general delight, take your expressions from inferior Arts and Professions; to please the learned in several kinds; As from the Meteors, Plants, Beasts in Natural Philosophy; And from the Stars, Spheres, and their motions in Astronomy; from the better part of Husbandry; from politic government of Cities; from Navigation, from the military profession, from Physic; but not out of the depth of those mysteries; and (unless your purpose be to disparage) let the word be always taken from a thing of equal or greater dignity, As speaking of Virtue, The sky of your virtue overcast with sorrow, where 'twas thought unfit to stoop to any Metaphor, lower than the Heaven.'

The reader is led on to the comparison of emblems, allegories, similes and poetical fictions, and interesting examples are given from Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser.

In the 17th century all arts and sciences were subordinate to their use for religious purposes. The art of rhetoric, which had originally been the art of the orator as such, and then of the lawyer, was enrolled in the service of an interpretation of the Scriptures. Dudley Fenner in 1584; John Barton in 1634; Thomas Hall in 1654; John Smith in 1657; and Bishop John Prideaux in 1659 all wrote *Rhetorics* especially explaining metaphorical and other rhetorical figures of speech occurring in the Bible. Smith's book, *Mysteries of Rhetorique unvailed*, 1657, combines the teaching of English and of Scripture though the latter is his main object.

The above-mentioned Thomas Hall was a schoolmaster[1]. His Scriptural Rhetoric is entitled:

[1] *See* p. 358.

Centuria Sacra. About one hundred Rules for the expounding and clearer understanding of the Holy Scriptures. To which are added a Synopsis or Compendium of all the most materiall Tropes and Figures contained in the Scriptures. 1654.

One interesting point in Hall's book is that after expounding 'the most materiall Tropes and Figures,' he suggests 'by the knowing of which, we may of ourselves observe many more like unto them.'

One other development of Rhetoric may be mentioned. Pronunciation and action or gesture were recognised departments of Rhetoric, and in 1644 John Bulwer published two books called *Chirologia* and *Chiromania*, the first dealing with the 'natural language of the Hand.' It is composed 'of the speaking motions and discoursing gestures' of the hand. 'The second is the Art of Manuall Rhetorique, with the Canons, Lawes, Rites, Ordinances and Institutes of Rhetoricians, both Ancient and Moderne, Touching the artificiall managing of the Hand in speaking. Whereby the Natural Gestures of the Hand, are made the Regulated Accessories or faire-spoken Adjuncts of Rhetoricall Utterance. With Types or Chirograms. A new illustration of this Argument.'

It is said that Rodolph Agricola (d. 1485) was the first to note a case of teaching the deaf and dumb. J. L. Vives, the great Spanish educationist, in his *de Anima* (1538) draws attention to Agricola's statement. Apparently, a Spaniard was the first to make a systematic attempt to educate the deaf and dumb. But Bulwer was the first to suggest 'an academy of the mute[1].' It is interesting to note that these educational developments are the direct outcome of the study of the Rhetoric of the gesture of the mouth and the hand.

The study of Rhetoric drew attention in many ways to the value of literary form and to effective statement. The wealth of imagery in authors read must have been, when the

[1] For these and other historical facts concerning the education of the deaf and dumb see Sir William Hamilton's *Discussions in Philosophy*, etc., Chapter v.

teaching was thorough, a valuable possession, and a sense of alertness in discovering the various tropes and figures could not but be an excellent school discipline. So much for the effect on teachers and pupils—always premising that the teachers were themselves efficient. With phrases and expressions of a rhetorical nature, introduced from Latin and Greek, also from French, Italian, Spanish authors, and particularly from the English Bible, the 17th century pupils awoke to the consciousness of the value of the power of varied expression. It is almost impossible to estimate the high usefulness of this now obsolete school discipline in enlarging the vocabulary and in directing the expression of the more educated English people of the 17th century. Unless the school and University training in Rhetoric are borne in mind, an important factor in accounting for the wealth of imagery and expression in the English literature of the 16th and 17th centuries is overlooked. No history of the development of knowledge of the English language as well as of classical studies would be complete without a recognition of the formative influence of the schools in the 17th century in promoting the study of the progressive and adaptive Rhetorics of the age.

Note A.

The Jesuit Method of Teaching Rhetoric.

The following is a description of the teaching of Edward Campion as Professor of Rhetoric at Prague (1574):

'In class, he first made his scholars repeat a passage they had learned out of school-hours; then the monitors collected the written exercises, which he looked over and corrected. While he was thus occupied, the boys were trying to imitate a passage of a poet or an orator, which he had set them, or to write a brief account of a garden, a church, a storm, or any other visible object; to vary a sentence in all possible ways; to translate it from one language into another; to write Greek or Latin verses; to convert verses from one metre into another; to write epigrams, inscriptions, epitaphs, to collect phrases from good authors; to apply the figures of rhetoric to a given subject; or to collect all the topics or commonplaces that are applicable to it. After this came a summary of the former day's lesson, and then the lecture of the day, on one of Cicero's speeches, was read, and the boys were examined upon it. The composition was to be on

a given pattern. First, he was to explain his text, and to discriminate the various interpretations of it. Next, he was to elucidate the writer's art, and to display his tricks of composition, invention, disposition and style; the reasons of his dignity, his persuasiveness, or his power, and the rules of verisimilitude and illustration which he followed. Thirdly, the professor had to produce parallel or illustrative passages from other authors. Fourthly, he was to confirm the author's facts or sentiments by other testimony, or by the saws of the wise. Fifthly, he was to illustrate the passage in any other way he could think of. Each lecture did not necessarily include all these points; but such was the range and the order prescribed for the points that were adopted[1].'

R. Simpson: *Life of Campion*, pp. 105–6.

Note B.

The Origins of the Teaching of Modern Subjects.

History. For illustrative purposes in composition. Erasmus treats of this point in the *de Copia* (*see* p. 423). *See* also with regard to Reusner's *Symbola* (p. 423). These books are representative of a class.

Geography was similarly regarded, though in a less degree, as available for illustration in composition.

The English Language. *See* Walker's *Idiomatologia Anglo-Latina* (p. 462). *See* also Lloyd's *Schoolemasters Auxiliaries* (p. 183).

English Literature was taught first in connexion with Rhetoric (*see* p. 441 and p. 449) and received consideration in the teaching of verse-making (*see* p. 481) culminating in the production of the *English Parnassus* of Joshua Poole 1657 (*see* p. 482).

Natural History books were studied for the purpose of securing suitable metaphors and similar in the composition of themes and orations on religious, classical and social subjects (*see* p. 450).

Modern Languages were introduced into such books as Gruter's *Florilegium* (*see* p. 456) containing primarily Latin and Greek flowers of speech, but also, similar proverbial expressions in German, Dutch, Italian, French, Spanish. Thus classical text-books sometimes gave the opportunity for comparing forms of speech in classical with those in modern languages. This characteristic of some of the 17th century text-books throws light on Milton's suggestion that pupils 'may have easily learnt, at any odd hour, the Italian tongue.' The full differentiation of subjects did not exist till after 1660. To use a modern phrase all subjects of the Grammar School were 'correlated,' with 'concentration centres' of composition (in Latin and Greek) and of religion.

Mathematics were taught by private teachers. They served, however, in the school, for illustrative purposes (*see* p. 438).

[1] Campion wrote *De imitatione Rhetorica*, Antwerp, 1631.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SCHOOL ORATION AT THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

It may be thought that theme-writing was sufficiently exacting in the Grammar School in the time of Brinsley. It is necessary, however, to consider the development of school text-books designed to assist the school exercises in the oration as well as the theme, in the period from Brinsley up to Hoole in 1660. For, in the time of Hoole, roughly speaking, the age of the Commonwealth, letter-writing, the theme, and the oration, received their fullest development in English schools.

I know of no source whence we can derive an idea of the theme and the oration as school exercises in this period so clearly as from John Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ in usum Scholarum concinnatæ, unâ cum multis Orationibus Declamationibus, etc., dêque collocatione oratoria et artificio demum Poetico, præceptiunculis.*

The fourth edition of this book was published 1632; the tenth in 1670. The dedicatory epistle is dated from the Lincoln Grammar School, of which Clarke was head master, in 1627.

John Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ* is written in Latin, and is founded on Erasmus's *Adagia*, for the use of schools. In his address to the reader, Clarke quotes Alsted to the effect that teachers should teach what is to be done, and they best teach what is to be done, by themselves *doing* it, and requiring pupils

to *do* it. The illustrious Erasmus descended into the minutest details when, for the sake of youth, he compiled his *Copia Verborum*; Clarke follows him, *haud passibus aequis*, by presenting a treatise of Formulæ and Transitions of Oratorical Compositions, which being for the use of schools should not be meagre in hints and suggestions.

Richerius had said in his *Obstetrix Animorum* (1607) that Cicero himself had brought together some of his principles of Oratory from the Exordia of Demosthenes. This is an argument for looking to the highest orators, and to discover from them the Formulæ for themselves. This was the method of study that Ascham and his followers had advocated.

But Clarke and the ordinary schoolmasters followed Aphthonius as model in the division of the theme into five general parts: Exordium, Narratio, Confirmatio, Confutatio, Conclusio—and, according to the great Vossius, Division ought to be added. Hoole accepts Clarke as his school text-book for the Formulæ.

The description of the *Formulæ* for Orations is too technical for minute description here. The much more interesting question remains of showing the methods pursued in searching for the subject-matter of the themes and similarly of the orations.

Hoole's directions[1] to the pupils are:

1. To have a large Common-place book, in which they should write at least those heads which Mr Farnaby had set down in his *Index Rhetoricus*[2], and then busy themselves to collect the short Histories out of Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Justin, Cæsar, Lucius Florus, Livy, Pliny, Pareus, *Medulla Historiæ*, Ælian.

2. Apologues and Fables out of Æsop, Phædrus, Ovid, Natalis Comes.

[1] These I find are directly taken with slight adaptations for the English schools from Caussinus (*see* p. 446 *supra*).

[2] *See* p. 443 *supra*.

3. Adages out of *Adagia Selecta*, Erasmi *Adagia*, Drax's *Bibliotheca Scholastica*[1], etc.

4. Hieroglyphics out of Pierius and Caussinus, etc.

5. Emblems[2] and Symbols out of Alciat, Beza, Quarles, Reusnerus[3], Chartarius[4], etc.

6. Ancient Laws and Customs out of Diodorus Siculus, Paulus Manutius, Plutarch, etc.

7. Witty Sentences out of *Golden Grove*, *Moral Philosophy*, *Sphinx Philosophica*, *Wit's Commonwealth*, *Flores Doctorum*, Tullie's *Sentences*, Demosthenes' *Sententiæ*, *Encheiridion Morale*, Stobaeus, *Ethica Ciceroniana*, Gruteri *Florilegium*[5].

8. Rhetorical Exornations out of Vossius, Farnaby, Butler, etc.

9. Topical Places out of Caussinus, Tesmarus, Orator Extemporaneus.

10. Descriptions of things natural and artificial out of *Orbis Pictus*, Caussinus, Plinius, etc. 'Nor may I forget Textor's *Officina*, Lycosthenes, Erasmi *Apophthegmata*, *Carolina Apophthegmata* and *Polyanthea*, which together with all that can be got of this nature, should be laid up in the School Library for scholars to pick what they can out of; besides what they read in their own Authors.'

[1] *See* p. 436 *supra*.

[2] For a full account of Emblems, see *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* by Henry Green, 1871.

[3] *See* p. 423 *supra*.

[4] *See* p. 400.

[5] Janus Gruterus.

Florilegium ethico-politicum, nunquam antehac editum; necnon P. Syri ac L. Senecae sententiae aureae; recognoscente J. G.... Accedunt gnomae paroemiaeque Graecorum, item proverbia Germanica, Belgica, Italica, Gallica, Hispanica. 3 vols. *Francofurti* 1610–12. 8°.

So much for the Matter of the theme and oration. Hoole continued:

'Now the manner I would have them use them, is this; Having a Theme given them to treat of, as suppose, this;

'*Non æstas semper fuerit, componite nidos.*

'1. Let them first consult what they have read in their own Authors concerning *Tempus*, *Aestas*, *occasio*, or *opportunitas*, and then,

'2. Let every one take one of those books before-mentioned and see what he can find in it for his purpose, and write it down under one of those heads in his Common-place book; but first let the Master see whether it will suit with the Theme.

'3. Let them all read what they have written before the Master and every one transcribe what others have collected, into his own book; and thus they may always have store of matter for invention always at hand, which is far beyond what their own wit is able to conceive. Now to furnish themselves also with copy of good words and phrases, besides what they have collected weekly, and what hath been already said of varying them; they should have these and the like books reserved in the School Library, viz.; *Sylva Synonymorum*[1], *Calliepeïa*[2], Huisse's *Phrases*[3], *Winchester's Phrases* (i.e. Robinson's Phrasebook[4], in use at Winchester), Lloyd's *Phrases*[5], Farnaby's *Phrases*[6], *Encheiridion Oratorium*[7], Clarke's *Phraseo-*

[1] *See* p. 478 *infra*. [2] *See* p. 436 *supra*.

[3] *Florilegium Phrasicon, or A Survey of the Latine tongue, according to the Elegancy of its proper Dialect. Necessary for all young Students in the same for their better Imitation, and practice thereof, either by their voice or pen. And into several heads disposed, and collected by John Huise, M.A. And now inlarged with a thousand Phrases, wanting in the former Edition. By Alexander Ross. London*, 1659. 8vo.

[4] *See* p. 461.

[5] *Phrases in usum Scholae Wint. una cum ejusden Dictatis.* Oxon, 1654. 8vo.

[6] In the *Index Rhetoricus*, *see* p. 443. [7] *See* p. 460.

logia[1], and his *English Adages*, Willis's *Anglicisms*[2], Barets' *Dictionary*[3], Hulet[4] or rather Higgins's *Dictionary*, Drax's *Bibliotheca*[5], *Parei Calligraphia*[6], *Manutii Phrases*[7], *A little English Dictionary*[8] 16°, and Walker's *Particles*[9]; and if at any time they can wittily and pithily invent anything of their own brain; you may help them to express it in good Latin, by increasing use of Cooper's *Dictionary*[10], either as himself directeth in his preface, or Phalerius will more fully show you, in his *Supplementa ad Grammaticam*.

'*The Importance of Good Patterns.*

'First therefore let them peruse that [pattern] in the Merchant Taylors' School Probation Books, and then those at the end of *Winchester Phrases*[10] and those in Mr Clarke's *Formulæ Oratoriæ*; and afterwards they may proceed to those in Aphthonius, Rodolphus Agricola, Catineus, Lorichius, and the like; and learn how to prosecute the several parts of a Theme more at large, by intermixing some of those *Formulæ Oratoriæ*, which Mr Clarke and Mr Farnaby have collected, which are proper to every part; so as to bring their matter into handsome and plain order, and to flourish and adorn it neatly with Rhetorical Tropes and Figures, always regarding the composure of words, as to make them run in a pure and even style, according to the best of their Authors, which they must always observe as precedents.'

[1] *See* p. 461. [2] *See* p. 461. [3] *See* p. 390.

[4] *See* p. 396. [5] *See* p. 436.

[6] Philippus Pareus: *Calligraphia Romana* 1616. This book is to be distinguished from the *Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae* of Joannes Posselius (*see* p. 502).

[7] *See* p. 435. [8] *See* p. 391.

[9] *A Treatise of English Particles: Shewing much of the Variety of their Simplifications and Uses in English: And how to render them into Latin according to the Propriety and Elegancy of that Language. With a Praxis upon the same. London.* [First edition before 1660.]

[10] *See* p. 389.

The Merchant Taylors' School Probation Books referred to call for special notice. In 1606 the Court of the Company decided that a Probation or Examination of the school should be held three times a year. *This examination was to be conducted by the Master and his Ushers, themselves.* The following reasons are given for the teachers examining their own pupils rather than having external examiners. 'First, the founders have good experience of their faithful government and assured confidence of their care of this trust imposed upon them. Secondly, this trial of the scholars being made in writing, strangers will be only a hindrance. Thirdly, the watchful eye of the Master and Ushers will make the boys more serious and earnest, and cause every boy's act to be entirely his own without any help.' The Master was required to keep a book, called *The Register of the School's Probation* to contain the names of all boys, arranged according to their Forms, with age and length of time in school, the names of books, and the extent of reading in them, of each boy and average copies of his exercises, signed by his teachers. By this means, governors and parents might see the exercises done on Probation Day, and *compare* the work registered with that registered on previous Probation Days done by the same boys. Provision was made for the recompence of the teachers (when the improvement was considered satisfactory) from a fund provided for the purpose by Mr Robert Dowe who is described as a 'hearty well-wisher to the school[1].' Merchant Taylors' School claimed to be 'the greatest school included under one roof, open to poor men's children, as well as of all nations.' We have seen that boys went from other schools to hear the 'exercises' at Merchant Taylors' School. The inspection by boys of exercise work done in other schools must have been a valuable method in the teaching of the composition of themes and orations.

[1] A full description is given of the requirements of the examination for every Form, on Probation Days, in H. B. Wilson's *History of Merchant Taylors' School* (1814) I. p. 163 *et seqq*. The syllabus for the examination in Greek is given on p. 499 *infra*.

The pride of each school of repute in the 17th century was in the thoroughness with which the boys could speak and write Latin. One of the supreme tests therefore was the ability to compose and deliver orations. There were a number of text-books written to show the method of oratorical composition. In England, for example, William Pemble, in 1633, published *Encheiridion Oratorium*. In 1633, also, the classical scholar and schoolmaster, Thomas Farnaby, issued his *Index Rhetoricus*—to which were added the *Formulæ Oratoriæ*.

When the boy came into the sixth Form, Hoole would have at hand for him the Orations of Turner, Baudius, Muretus, Heinsius, Puteanus, Rainold, Lipsius, Barclay, Salmasius. In the fifth Form he had studied the *Encheiridion Oratorium*[1], the *Orator Extemporaneus*[2], and in the fourth Form, the *Dux Oratorius*[3]. And, of course, long before he consulted these he was to have composed epistles and themes, both in English and Latin. To do these it was necessary to have learned Rhetoric, and to apply the rhetorical rules to his composition.

In the fifth Form he would have his scholars translate one from Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and Quintus Curtius every day, and once a week recite them both in English and Latin. 'I know not what others may think of this task,' he says,

[1] This is probably William Pemble's book mentioned above, but there was another book on the subject: *Encheiridion duplex: Oratorium nempe et Poeticum: hoc ab A. Rossæo...concinnatum, illud a T. Morello concinnatum, sed ab eodem Rossæo recognitum et auctum* 1650.

Alexander Ross, Head-master of the Southampton Grammar School from 1616-1654, is a good example of the conservative pedantic schoolmaster. *See* an account of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1895.

[2] By Michael Radau. *See* p. 445. An edition was published in London, 1657, entitled as follows: *Orator Extemporaneus, seu Artis Oratoriae Breviarium bipartitum, Cuius Prior Pars praecepta continet generalia, Posterior praxin ostendit in triplici dicendi genere praesertim Demonstrativo nec non supellectilem Oratoria, Sententias, Historias, Apophthegmata Hieroglyphica Suppeditas. Auctore R. P. Michaele Radau S. J.*

[3] This, apparently, is a portion of John Clarke's *Dux Grammaticus*, 1633, 7th ed. 1677.

'but I have experienced it to be a most effectual mean to draw on my scholars to emulate one another who could make the best exercises of their own in the most rhetorical style.' He explicitly directs that the boys of a school should learn how to intermix phrases from the *Formulæ* of Mr Clarke and Mr Farnaby—so that they may 'flourish and adorn their theme neatly with rhetorical tropes and figures, always regarding the composure of words so as to make them run in a pure and even style.' In another place, Hoole says: 'No day in the week should pass on which some Declamation, Oration, or Theme, should not be pronounced about a quarter of an hour before the school is broken up.' This is in the sixth Form.

Of the phraseological compilations, the following are worth mentioning:

John Clarke.

Phraseologia puerilis Anglo-Latina in usum tyrocinii scholastici. Or, Selected Latine and English phrases, wherein the purity and proprietie of both languages is expressed. Very useful for young Latinists, to prevent barbarisms[1], *and bald Latine-making, and to initiate them in speaking and writing elegantly in both Languages. London.* 1638. 8°.

Second Edition. Recognized by W. Du-gard. *London.* 1650. 12°.

Hugh Robinson.

Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases Latinæ. The Latine Phrases of Winchester School. Second edition. London. 1658. 8°.

Thomas Willis.

Proteus Vinctus, sive æquivoca sermonis Anglicani, ordine alphabetico digesta, et Latine reddita, etc. Anglicisms Latinized,

[1] It is worth noting that these books of Willis and Clarke set themselves against the evil which Milton condemns in the school compositions: 'The ill habit which they get of wretched barbarising against the Latin and Greek Idiom with their untutored Anglicisms.'

or English Proprieties rendered into Proper Latine. For the use and benefit of Grammar Scholars in Making, Writing, and Talking Latin. London. 1655. 8°.

William Walker.

A Dictionarie of English and Latine Idiomes, wherein phrases of the English and Latine tongue answering in parallels each to the other are ranked under severall heads. London. [1670.] 8°.

A copy of the sixth edition (1708) in the British Museum is entitled *Idiomatologia Anglo-Latina*, but keeps the old engraved title-page. The work was dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon, and in the Preface to the Reader, Walker refers both to John Clarke and to William Dugard, Master of the Merchant Taylors' School.

The most voluminous phrase-book of the 17th century in England was *Phraseologia Generalis. A Full, Large, and General Phrase Book; Comprehending, Whatsoever is Necessary and most Usefull, in all other Phraseological Books (hitherto, here, Published;) and Methodically Digested; for the more speedy, and Prosperous Progress of students, in their Humanity Studies. By William Robertson, A.M. Cambridge. Printed by John Hayes, Printer to the University.* 1681. [This consists of nearly 1400 closely printed double-column pages. 8°.]

It would seem that these elaborate phrase-books were likely to defeat their own ends—for the boys must have been relieved to a great extent from collecting phrases in a Common-place book—an exercise on which, at any rate, Hoole, as we have seen, laid great stress. They could, by these phrase-books, usually find what they wanted, or, at any rate, what would serve, without themselves collecting from classical authors.

Thus equipped with phrase-books and all sorts of books of reference, and having mastered the art of letter-writing and theme-writing, the pupil proceeded to the art of composing orations or declamations.

But whatever the theory of theme-writing might be in the minds of Brinsley, of Clarke, of Hoole, the working out of the exercises in the schools received the keenest criticism. Milton, for instance, considers it 'preposterous' to require from the 'empty heads of children' the composition of themes, verses and orations 'which are the arts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims and copious invention.'

In a *Pattern for Young Students*, 1729—viz.: the Life of Mr Ambrose Bonwick, after an account of the books he had read when at the University at the age of 19—in 11 months, in addition to his reading he is said to have 'made four-and-twenty Greek and Latin themes' amongst the exercise work, so that evidently the more elaborate theme was considered University work, whilst the schoolmaster's task was to get the boy as near to writing the theme with credit as might be possible. In some cases, no doubt, the work was pretentious and superficial in the extreme, and worthy of Milton's severest censure. But in others, as for instance, in Thomas Farnaby's school, and probably in Hoole's, no doubt remarkable work was done, through the special ability and enthusiasm shown by the teachers. But what Farnaby could himself do and get his boys to do, there is every reason to suppose that the great mass of the teachers of the time were utterly unable to accomplish. Attractive as the idea of theme-writing might be, it was beyond the power of ordinary boys to acquire, and ordinary teachers to give. It was a case of *corruptio optimi, pessima.*

As illustrations of the requirement in the schools of the Oration, it will be sufficient to cite the Statutes of Rivington Grammar School and Durham School, which give full details.

Rivington, 1566.

'And now daily the Master must, more diligently than afore, teach his scholars to note and observe the figures of grammar

and phrase, how the verbs and nouns be joined together after the fashion that uses; and how the epitheta and adjectives be joined with their nouns, after the fashion of Textor's *Epitheta* and *Officina*.

'That all these long, painful exercises may have some better show of learning, with stronger kinds of persuading and teaching others, the Master may now enter his scholar into the rules of rhetoric, in Tully's books ("ad Herennium"), to let him understand the divers kinds, and parts of an oration, giving him examples out of other authors, and how to furnish his sentences with figures of all sorts, as they be plainly there set forth in the fourth book, which will be more easy to follow by daily practice; for he that cometh thus instructed with plenty of matter that he hath read and noted in other books before, and hath been diligently trained in these lower exercises, which were but introductions to this kind of perfection, now he may use to declaim profitably on any questions propounded after the example of Aphthonius, Quintilian, or Seneca, and for example, follow and to see the practice of these Rules. It shall bring great light to declare unto them the parts of rhetoric, and elocution out of the orations of Tully, after the scholars have interpreted it themselves before the Master in English, without any other help, so that they may try their own wits in this doing, as "Actio in Verrem," et "pro Cluentio," et "pro Lege Manilia"; which may be patterns to follow for his scholars, with Sallust and Virgil.'

Durham, 1593.

'The boy shall have read unto him the books of Cicero ad Herennium, wherein the schoolmaster shall teach the scholars to frame and make an oration according to the precepts of Rhetoric...thus the schoolmaster shall propound a theme or argyment which shall have two parties, and two scholars shall be appointed, the one shall take the first part, the other second,...and upon Saturday in the week following the afore-

said scholars shall pronounce...by heart their said orations... publicly in the face of the whole school and this...to continue weekly throughout the whole year among the best scholars.'

The subject of the Oration is connected very closely with Disputations and Declamations[1] and the old competitive aspect of the Disputation seems to have continued in the practice of giving prizes for the boys' orations.

Thus, at St Paul's School in 1646 there is the entry in the *Registers*[2] 'eight pairs of gloves for the Scholars, who made orations 12/-. Next year 1647, sixteen pairs were provided.'

At Birmingham Grammar School are the entries: '1656. Paid to the Schollers for their Orations at the Crosse, 4/-.' The Cross was the Market Cross, to which the boys went similarly to the Boys' Disputations at Smithfield in former ages. In the same year, 1656, there was also 'paid for orations in the Schoole 3/6.' Again in 1666 is the entry: 'Given the Schollers at there Orations at Christmas 2/6.'

Note A.

Subjects for School Oratorical Disputations.

The following is Clarke's list of Quaestiones aliquot declamatoriae.

An *aratoris* rastrum quàm *Oratoris* rostrum expetibilius sit?
Ajaci potius quàm *Ulyssi*, *Achillis* arma deferri debeant?
praestet esse *Achilles*, invidiae obnoxius, quàm *Thersites* ab illâ immunis?
rectiùs fecit *Crates*, qui *aurum* in mare projecit, quàm *Midas*, qui adeò magnifecit?
Diogenis dolium, *an Alexandri* solium expetibilius sit?
Lucretia bene fecit, quando seipsam interfecit?
praestet *inopem* esse, quàm *impium*?

[1] *See* Chapter v.
[2] Ed. R. B. Gardiner, p. 13.

An *malus* sit, qui *sibi soli* est *bonus*?
—— peragat tranquilla potestas,
quod violenta nequit—
minimum libêre deceat, cui multum *licet*?
honesta *mors*, turpi *vitae* sit anteferenda?
qui *ducit* uxorem, libertati *valedicit*?
praestat *virum* pecuniâ, quàm *pecuniam* viro indigentem respicere?
educatio publica privatae praeferenda sit?
aurea *libertas* auro *pretiosior* omni?
melior sit consulta *tarditas*, quàm temeraria *celeritas*?
fortes creantur fortibus, et boni bonis?
minus est servâsse repertum, quàm quaesisse decus?
cuivis homini contingat adire Corinthum?
liceat *foeminis* imperare?
magistratus *juveni* sit committendus?
—— omnia grandior aetas Quae fugiamus habet?

Utrum multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum?
magnates sint magnetes?
—— melius nil caelibe vitâ?
nihil scire sit vita jucundissima?
ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius?
praestet *jejunare* cum Musis, quàm *prandere* cum Sardanapalo?
regnorum eversio fiat, non *murorum* sed morum casu?
seniores annis, sint saniores animis?
Martis castra, quàm *Mercurii* comitari praestet?
praestat *nequaquam*, quàm *nequam* esse?
actum est de *homine*, quum actum est de *nomine*?
praestat aquam, an vinum bibere?
plus *oneris* quam *honoris* in Magistratu?
verna, quam hiberna melior *anni* sit tempestas?
regi an *legi* deferendum sit judicium, *imperium*?
poetae nascantur, non fiant?
bona corporis sint animi mala?
secundae res foelicem, magnum verò faciant adversae?
vincere cor proprium minus est, quàm vincere mundum?
plus debuit *Alexander Aristoteli* praeceptori, quam *Philippo* patri?
unum in bellis *Ajacem*, quàm decem *Ulysses* habere praestat?
tantum *sumus*, quantum *scimus*?
utilius sit Socratem de *moribus* quàm Hippocratem de *humoribus* disputantem audire?
sitis voluptatis parit febrem ingenii?
magnum fit *ei* dam(n)um, cui mala fama lucrum?

Utrum κρεῖττον ὀψιμαθῆ ἢ ἀμαθῆ εἶναι?
saepius ad laudem atque virtutem, *natura* sine doctrinâ, vel sine naturâ *doctrina* valeat?
dominetur regibus aurum?
deteriores simus omnes licentia?

Note B.

List of names of writers of Vocabularies, Phrase-books, Examples, Sententiae, etc., given in Solomon Lowe's Grammar (1726).

(118) *By*

Anastasius
Asconius
Badius
Bailey
Barbarossa
Beck
Becmannus
Benz
Buchlerus
Busus
Camerarius
Caninius
Cardinalis
Castellus
Cellarius
Chrysogonus
Clark
Clarus
Cluserus
Conorius
Corradus
Crocus
Curio
Dauberus
Decimator
Delafaye
Donatus
Duffleus
Dyche
Erasmus
Faber
Fabricius
Festus
Figulus
Folieta
Frisius
Fronto
Garretson
Garsia
Gellius
Gifanius
Glareanus
Greenwood
Guildenerus
Guntherus
Heiden
Helling
Hellinx
Hugo
Insulanus
Isidorus
Ker
Laberus
Leontinus
Lipsius
Longolius
Loosa
Maderus
Malhusius
Mancinellus
Mindanus
Morallus
Munckerus
Niesse
Nonius
Nunesius
Ostermannus
Pareus
Parthenius
Perdix
Philips
Philomusus
Phyldius
Planciades
Pontanus
Popma
Porter
Praschius
Prateolus
Ray
Regius
Rennemanus
Riccius
Riccobonus
Robertson
Scaurus
Schottus
Servius
Siberus
Stephanus
Stewechius
Sturmius
Suevus
Sylvius
Taubmannus
Textor
Theodoricus
Theveninus
Thomasius
Tursellinus
Tuscanella
Ubelus
Ulnerus
Uranius
Valet
Vavasor
Vechnerus
Verwey
Victorinus
Vives
Vladeraccus
Vogelmannus
Vorstius
Weinrichius
Widdemannus
Wilkius
Wilsius
Witmarius

CHAPTER XXIX.

VERSE-MAKING WITH NOTE ON THE FLORES POETARUM.

In the age of the Renascence which prided itself on Imitation as the highest goal of literary art, it was inevitable that verse-writing should become an important discipline. Scholars regarded verses as the mark of knowledge and ability. Schoolmasters, who have ever been anxious to be included in the ranks of the scholars, made valiant efforts at verses themselves and attempted to induce their pupils to cultivate the coveted skill.

In the universities in the Middle Ages, the Master of Grammar was required by statute to set his scholars verses to compose and letters to write, which exercises they had to write out on parchment on the next holiday and produce them in school and repeat by heart to their master the day after[1]. To test the ability of the master to perform the part of the work, the teacher of grammar had to be examined (before being licensed by the Chancellor to teach) 'in the method of making verses[2].'

In the Mediaeval Ages, therefore, it is not surprising to find that considerable fluency was reached in Latin verses,

[1] Anstey: *Munimenta Academica*, p. 437.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 436. 'In reign of Edward I, Maurice Byrchensaw graduated as bachelor of Grammar and rhetoric and composed a hundred verses (the usual requirement) in praise of the University, and was crowned with the laurel.' Drane, p. 457.

though often accompanied by scant accuracy, both of diction and metre. Thus as far back as 700 A.D. we read of St Boniface or Wilfred at the Monastery School of Nutswell, appointed as Scolasticus, as teaching not only the monks but also the nuns to study Grammar and write hexameter verse[1].

The founder of Norwich Cathedral, Herbert de Losinga, 'provided boys with tables prepared with wax (for writing exercises), and made them repeat Latin declensions and conjugations by heart. "Donatus and Servius (a writer on the rules of metre) I taught you all that year," he says, writing to an old pupil. He was a thorough believer in Latin verse as the best educational discipline[2].'

In the 15th and 16th centuries a high standard relatively was expected and this direction of ambition told upon the schools. Latin verses were part of the school curriculum, and any school of serious pretensions made efforts in Greek verses. In 1528 Erasmus wrote the much quoted passage *An tu credidisses unquam fore, ut apud Britannos aut Batavos pueri Graece garrirent, Graecis epigrammatis non infeliciter luderent?* (Dial. *de Pronuntiatione*, p. 48). As Hallam says: 'This must be understood as only applicable to a very few upon whom extraordinary pains had been bestowed.'

In Elyot's *Gouvernour* (1531), there is a passage showing that verses were ordinarily attempted in the schools, and were done 'not wisely but too well.'

'I call not them grammarians which only can teach or make rules, whereby a child shall only learn to speak congrue Latin, or make six verses standing on one foot, wherein perchance shall be neither sentence nor eloquence[3].'

But Elyot's criticism was not against verse-writing so much as the method. In another place he says:

'If the child were induced to make verses by the imitation

[1] Drane: *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 91.
[2] Miss Bateson: *Mediaeval England*, pp. 94–5.
[3] Elyot, *Gouvernour* (ed. Crofts), I. p. 164.

of Vergil and Homer, it would minister to him much delectation and courage to study[1].'

There can be no doubt that Latin verse-writing was part of the work of a good Grammar School in the period 1500–1660. About the middle of the 16th century Christopher Johnson wrote his Latin poem, *De Collegio seu potius Collegiata Schola Wiccamia Wintonensi.* Johnson was at Winchester, as a boy, from 1549 till 1553, when he went to New College, Oxford. In 1560 he was Head-master of Winchester, which office he retained till 1571.

There are indications that the poem was written whilst Johnson was a boy at Winchester, 1549–1553, if we can realise that at that date a Grammar School boy had such excellent fluency in his Latin verses[2]. Altogether the poem consists of 267 lines. Accepting 1549–1553 as the date of this poem, it is not improbable that the customs there described had been established and that from time immemorial, perhaps from the founding of the College in 1373.

The description of verse-making holds for a considerable time anterior to the poem. This is what Johnson says in describing the school day: 'The boys are roused at 5 o'clock in the morning, dress and go to chapel at 6 o'clock, and after prayers:

> 'Jam Pindi petimus montem, culmenque bicorne;
> Per prata Aonidum, per amoena vireta volamus,
> Nectareosque favos facundo condimus ore.
> Scrutamur cerebri rimas, ne forte lateret
> Carmen proposito quod iungat et haereat apte.
> Quilibet ad cistam tam stricte est iunctus, ut olim
> Caucaseae rupi divus fuit iste Prometheus.'

[1] *Gouvernour* (ed. Crofts), 1. p. 68.

[2] *See* A. F. Leach, *Winchester College* (1899), p. 266, and Th. Klaehr *N. jahrb. f. phil. u. päd* II. abt. 1895, p. 555. The latter points out that the contraventions against rules of grammar and prosody suggest of themselves that the poem belongs to the early life of Johnson.

So, too, at Eton, we find in Malim's *Consuetudinarium* (c. 1560) at 9 o'clock: 'In diebus Martis et Jovis superiores ordines themata, sibi proposita carminibus concludunt.' Here, again, it is highly probable that Malim is registering a practice which had gone on for many school generations, perhaps from the founding of Eton in 1440.

William Paston was studying at Eton, not in the College, but as a pupil of one of the Fellows, in 1479. In a letter of that date he says he lacks 'nothing but versifying,' and gives two verses of 'mine own making[1].' From Malim's *Consuetudinarium*, it is clear that the boys of the sixth and seventh Forms used to write [Latin] verses. Mr Maxwell Lyte says: 'No *Gradus ad Parnassum* then existed to assist the would-be poets in finding suitable words for their compositions, and they had to rely on the contents of their own note-books for "flowers, phrases or idioms of speech, antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, anecdotes, descriptions of times, places and persons, fables, witticisms, figures and apophthegms." The master and usher used to read aloud and explain to the boys the passages which were to be learned by heart[2].' Verses had to be written on 'the apple-bearing autumn' to earn a holiday for nutting expeditions. In the time of Queen Elizabeth 44 boys in the Upper Forms at Eton wrote verses to show their loyalty. There are four collections of verses written by Eton boys in Queen Elizabeth's reign showing that versification was, in the Upper Forms, a real discipline of the school[3].

In 1621–8 Westminster, Forms VI. and VII., we are told there were exercises each day. Alternate days Prose and Verse, taken between 9.0 and 11.0 a.m. The Verses were in both Latin and Greek upon two or three several themes, 'and

[1] Maxwell Lyte: *Eton*, p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 150. It should be borne in mind, in connexion with the above quotation, that Udall, a Head-master of Eton, had published in 1534 *Flowers for Latin Speaking* and in 1542 a translation of Erasmus's *Apophthegms.*

[3] *Ibid.* p. 169, and p. 186.

they that made the best two or three of them had some money given them by the schoolmaster for the most part.'

In the early statutes of Cuckfield Grammar School (c. 1528) it is required: 'In the fifth Form boys shall read the versifying rules...and for their better exercise they shall make every week (Latin) verses.'

In Wolsey's *Plan of Studies for Ipswich School*, 1528, in the seventh Class:

'The party in the seventh Form should regularly have in hand either Horace's *Epistles*, or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or *Fasti*, occasionally composing verse or an epistle of their own.' Wolsey goes on to suggest a practice on which, more than forty years later, Ascham laid stress:

'It will also be of very great importance that they sometimes turn verse into prose, or reduce prose into metre.'

The following passages from Bishop Pilkington's Statutes of Rivington Grammar School, 1566, bring out the relation between epistle-writing and verses, and also confirms the view that Ascham's plea for changing Latin into Greek, verse into prose and vice-versa, was a description of the practice of some of the schools rather than an original suggestion.

'After this, your scholars may be brought to the reading of Terence, his "Adelphi," or "Selectæ Ciceronis," and then to some verses, as "Psalmi Buchanani," "Epistolæ Ovidii," or "Odae Horatii," where both the matter and metre is to be observed; and shall be a great help afterward to the making of a verse, which shall not be hard, if he then join that piece of his grammar rules withal, to know the quantity of syllables and kind of verses, after that he hath been exercised in making examples of every figure of grammar, and short epistles which he must do weekly, following Tully's examples. To all which aforesaid, "Erasm. Copiæ Verborum et Rerum, et de conscribendis Epistolis," will give a great light, and make the way more easy, if they be not so much tarried in, as laid before them like a pattern to learn, and to follow. But all these things

must be gotten by often examining and diligent practising, which the Master must earnestly look that his scholars do, and help to declare and lead them in it.'

'After that they have been exercised with variety of words in their Greek declensions and conjugations, as was said afore, for the Latin grammar, they may have read unto them, first, "Tabula Cebetis" in Greek, and then some oration of Isocrates, and after Euripides. But weekly, besides this, they must write some epistles or verses, which they may more easily do, if they use often to turn their lectures into English, and then into Latin, again by other words to the same meaning, sometimes in verses, and sometimes in prose: and after turning Greek into Latin and Latin into Greek, and changing one kind of verse into another, and verses into prose, and prose into verse, observing the propriety of the phrase, the purest Latin words, and making the sentences full.'

The following are further instances of School Statutes requiring verse-making in the curriculum.

East Retford Grammar School, 1552.

'The said schoolmaster or Usher shall teach the Fourth Form to know the breves and longs, and make verses.'

Friars' School, Bangor, 1568.

'Every Friday the scholars of the first two forms in the schoolmaster's teaching to deliver to the Master an Epistle or Epigram in verse "that the scholar has premeditated in the fore part of the week."'

Sandwich Grammar School, 1580.

Making of verses was prescribed for the second Form.

Durham School.

From the Orders for Durham School, 1593:

'For the practice and exercise of versifying (Latin) the schoolmaster shall read to them the versifying rules set down in the latter end of our common grammar...with due teaching...

the true...scanning of a verse, for practice whereof the scholars shall every second day make certain verses upon certain argument which shall be given them.'

The boys were required to 'utter a *Greek Verse*,' and to compose Verses in Latin and Greek.

Heath Grammar School, c. 1600.

At Heath Grammar School the Master is required by Statute to teach his boys Greek Verses.

Charterhouse (*Orders*), 1627.

'Besides the Scholars weekly exercises, they of the highest form shall every Sunday set up in the Great Hall four Greek and four Latin verses a piece, on any part of the second lesson appointed for that day, for the Master of the Hospital or any stranger to view and examine.'

The requirement that the Master should be able to write Latin and Greek verses is naturally laid down in Statutes, e.g. in:

Whitgift Hospital, Croydon, c. 1600.

The schoolmaster to be a 'person well qualified for that function, that is to saye, an honest man, learned in the Greek and Latin tongues, a good versifier in both the foresaid languages, and able to write well (if possible it may be).'

It may be concluded that the writing of verses was a general aim of the Grammar Schools[1]. The custom of some schools to visit Merchant Taylors' School to hear the exercises proceeding should also be borne in mind[2].

In now presenting the methods of Brinsley and Hoole, it is to be remembered that these two writers address themselves especially to their fellow teachers in Grammar Schools, Brinsley

[1] This is confirmed by Harrison, *Description of England*, p. 151, who states that (c. 1577) the rules of versifying formed part of the curriculum of English public schools.

[2] e.g. Charterhouse and St Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark. *See* p. 94 *supra*.

particularly appealing to the country Grammar School teachers. They both take Latin and Greek verses for granted as part of the School Course.

The method of training for verse-writing described by Brinsley includes the following steps:

1. To be able to write 'true Latin' and good phrase in prose.

2. To have read Latin poetry[1], especially some Ovid and Vergil, and to have noted their poetical phrases.

3. Brinsley's special device of grammatical translation to be used at first, i.e. resolve Latin verse into grammatical order. 'For the making of a verse is but the turning of words forth of the grammatical order into the rhetorical.' Practise pupils always in giving the Latin poetical phrases and epithets in the Latin poetical authors read.

4. See that pupils are 'very cunning' in the rules of versifying.

5. See that pupils are perfect in scanning.

6. Use the same practice in *Flores Poetarum* for verse as in Tullie's *Sentences* in prose[2]. Brinsley suggests that the Master choose, say a subject from the *Flores Poetarum* on which Ovid has written verses. Dictate to the class an English rendering. The class are to put this rendering *verbatim* in the Ordo grammaticus. Then they are to see who in the class can 'soonest turn these words into the order of a verse.' Finally read over to them the verses of Ovid, so that they see where they succeeded and where they missed. The highest step is

[1] Hoole emphasises the importance of learning Latin poets by heart six or eight verses a lesson because 'the very repetition of the verses and much more the having them by heart will imprint a lively pattern of hexameters and pentameters in their minds and furnish them with many good authorities.'

[2] *See* p. 353 *supra*. The example is cited from Cicero's *de Senectute*, but the method is the same for the Ciceronian *Sententiae*, of which Brinsley intended to prepare an edition 'grammatically translated.'

then taken of doing the same exercise 'without pen[1],' and *ex tempore* verses by practice become comparatively easy.

7. As either school-work or home-work, the pupils should turn their reading of authors into verse. By noting exactly phrases and epithets these can be used again either to the same purpose or to express some other matter.

8. If reading Poets, pupils may contract say seven or eight verses into four or five or fewer, and to retain as much of the significance as possible. In this way they can proceed from 'the lowest kind of verse in the *Eclogues*, to something loftier in the *Georgics* and to the stateliest kinds in the *Aeneids*: wherein they may be tasked to go through some book of the *Aeneids* every day contracting a certain number as some 5 or 6 (verses) a day for some of their exercises. But in a practising contraction, care must be taken that the other methods are not neglected. Boys may be required to make verses twice in the day, e.g. a task may be set on leaving school at noon to bring done on return in the afternoon, or at night to bring in the morning. Or, again, of a sudden, before being allowed to go to play they may be required to versify some theme not thought of beforehand.' When doing Themes, they should be asked to comprise what they have written in a Distich, or two[2]. Let them even strive, by imitation, to make Ovid and Vergil 'our own' for verse, as Tully for prose, 'so to speak and write in Latin for the phrase as they did.' Undoubtedly, verse-making is 'a very great sharpener of the wit, and a stirrer up of Invention.' Practice and diligence exercised on the best patterns are the sure and speedy means to ability in verse-making, though Brinsley admits there must be (and perhaps the admission gives away the case) 'aptness of nature concurring.'

[1] Brinsley notes that the saving of paper, in doing the exercise 'without pen,' is of importance, because boys may soon 'run over much.'

[2] Hoole says, also, in a tetrastich, hexastich or more verses 'as they grow in strength.'

The Helps to Versifying.

Brinsley's List is as follows:

1. For Store and variety of Matter.

Common-place Books. By these the pupil can refer to any collection of passages, for matter and imitation whether for gratulatory verses, triumphs, funerals, etc. If he has not made his own Common-place Book, then the *Flores Poetarum* will serve instead.

Just before Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* was published in 1612 an edition of the *Flores Poetarum*[1] was issued in London:

Poetarum Illustrium Flores Per Octavianum Mirandulam Collecti, et in locos Communes digesti: nunc vero ab innumeris mendis repurgati a Theodoro Pulmanno Cranebrugio. Cum Indice locorum Communium, Londini, impensis Arthuri Johnson 1611.

For Invention of Matter on any occasion or subject Hoole gives Mr Farnaby's *Index Poeticus* as likely to supply 'places' out of the purest poets for imitation. He mentions *Flores Poetarum* and *Sabinus de Carminibus ad veterum imitationem artificiose componendis* at the beginning of Textor's *Epistolae.* He also recommends that the pupil be set to express 'in a lively way,' in verse, the substance of a prose historian or orator. 'For this Mr Horne hath furnished two examples in his excellent χειραγωγία, *de usu Authoris*[2].'

2. For variety and copy of Poetical Phrases.

Joannes Buchlerus. Sacrarum profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum thesaurus, 1633, 12mo.

13th edition, *London,* 1642, 12mo; 14th, 1652.

Editio ultima prioribus correctior, 2 pts. *Amsterdam,* 1656,

[1] *See* p. 483 *infra.*

[2] For an account of this book *see School World,* Jan. and Feb., 1906. Thomas Horne was Head-master of Tonbridge 1640–8 and of Eton 1640–54. The *de Usu Authoris* was published in 1641.

12mo (Brinsley recommends the edition dated 1607, but Buchler's *Phrases* still held the field in Hoole's time).

Buchler collects 'elegancies' of expression from the most distinguished authors and 'distributes them under heads.' For instance under *docere* he gives:

Artibus erudire, imbuere, instruere. Erudire in arte. Profiteri Musas et artes. Imbuere castam juventutem liquidis aquis Pierii fontis. Propinare Aoniam aquam teneris alumnis e Phoebi fonte.

There are about 1400 'heads' or topics for which 'elegancies' are selected. Naturally these subjects are such as are most likely to be serviceable in writing Latin verse.

In addition to the poetical phrases gathered from many classical sources, Buchler supplies an Appendix of Synonyma Virgiliana. Here are some 400 subjects chosen, and Virgilian phrases selected to describe them. A single synonym sometimes is given, as e.g. for Hesiod *Ascraeus senex*, or for puella *nympha*. But for *bellator* Buchler supplies 37 synonyms.

Brinsley describes Buchler's *Thesaurus* as a 'notable help.'

Synonymorum Sylva olim a Simone Pelegromio collecta, et Alphabeto Flandrico ab eodem Authore illustrata: nunc autem è Belgarum sermone in Anglicanum transfusa et in alphabeticam ordinem redacta per H.F. et ab eodem denuò multis locis emendata et aucta.

Accesserunt huic editioni Synonyma quaedam poëtica, in poësi versantibus perquàm necessaria. Excusum Londini impensis Johannis Harisoni 1609.

Both for words and phrases '*Sylva Synonymorum* may stand in good stead of Buchler's *Thesaurus* chiefly for scholars of judgment able to make right choice of the fittest' (*Ludus Literarius*, p. 196).

3. For store of *Epithets: Epitheta Joannis Ravisii Textoris, Nivernensis*, printed as early as 1518.

An edition of 1622 contains over 1000 somewhat closely

printed pages. Epithets are given from old and recent Latin writers on subjects, chiefly persons and places alphabetically arranged, likely to be useful in Latin prose or verse compositions.

The topics are largely mythological, historical, geographical, of nature subjects, e.g. animals, trees, herbs, etc., moral subjects, virtues, social subjects and generally those subjects on which classical and later Latin writers had written incidentally and epithetically. On an average there are about 30 quotations to a page, so Textor, as he is ordinarily called, offers over 30,000 quotations of epithets. Many of these were additions to later editions by other writers.

Hoole's list of *Phrases Poeticae*, further, includes:

Ærarium Poeticum, *Res Virgiliana*, *Artis Poeticae Compendium*, *Thesaurus Poeticus*, and others, 'waiting to be laid up' in the school library. Textor will sufficiently supply choice epithets and Sinetii *Prosodia* (which is lately comprised and printed at the end of Lily's *Grammar*) will afford authorities.'

Taking these books in order, the titles are *Ærarium Poeticum:*

Ærarium Poeticum.

Melchior Weinrichius.

M. Melchioris Weinrichi Ærarium Poeticum, Hoc est, Phrases et nomina Poetica, tam Propria, quam appellativa, Poëtarum Latinorum. Francofurti 1647.

I find no notice of an English edition.

Res Virgiliana. This possibly refers to Buchler's *Synonyma Virgiliana.*

Artis Poeticae Compendium.

Possibly a smaller form of:

Gerardi Jacobi Vossii de artis poeticae natura ac constitutione liber. Amstelodami 1647. 4to.

Thesaurus Poeticus.

Of these there were many collections. A convenient one was the *Index Poeticus* contained in Thomas Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus* (1633).

Hoole completes his suggestions by the following counsel of perfection: 'But for gaining a smooth way of versifying, and to be able to express much matter in few words and very fully to the life, I conceive it very necessary for scholars to be frequent in perusing and rehearsing Ovid and Virgil, and afterwards such kind of poets as they themselves are delighted withal either for more variety of verse or the wittiness of conceit's sake. And the master indeed should cause his scholars to recite a piece of Ovid or Virgil in his hearing now and then, that the very tune of these pleasant verses may be imprinted in their minds, so that whenever they are put to compose a verse, they make it glide as even as those in their authors.'

As an example of work worthy of a young scholar's imitation, Hoole cites Alexander Ross's *Virgilius Evangelizans*[1].

4. For the best authorities as to the quantities of syllables:

Prosodia Henrici Smetii, 1518 (many editions).

For rules of quantities, our own *Grammar* (Lily's) may be sufficient (*Ludus Literarius*, p. 196). 'Very short and plain' is Butler in his *Rhetoric*[2], Chap. 14, *de Metro*.

5. For the Imitation of the best Poets, read Sabine's Precepts:

De carminibus ad veterum imitationem artificiose componendis, included in Textor's *Epitheta*.

also the *Institutio Poëtica* at the end of Buchler's *Thesaurus*[3].

6. For the Figures belonging to Poetry,

See Butler's *Rhetoric*, Chap. 14, *de Metro*.

[1] The full title is:

Virgilius Evangelizans. Sive Historia Domini & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Virgilianis verbis et versibus descripta. Lond. 1634. It is by Alexander Ross (*see* note to p. 460 *supra*). Ross's book is probably the best known English writer's *cento* (*see* p. 374).

[2] *See* p. 441 *supra*.

[3] *See* p. 477 *supra*.

7. For the turning of verses divers ways,

See Stockwood: *Progymnasma Scholasticum*[1].

Besides the exposition of school practices in the making of Latin and Greek verses, Charles Hoole has the distinction of recognising the importance of the active and practical study of English poets in the Grammar School. He would have the pupils of a school tested early on in their 'inclination' towards poetry, with a view to their encouragement in the more ambitious forms of Latin and Greek verse where they show prospective ability. Boys, therefore, should first learn to compose English verses. To 'inure' them to do so, Hoole suggests his method: 'Let them procure some pretty, delightful and honest English poems[2], by perusal whereof they may become acquainted with the harmony of English poesy. M. Hardwick's (Harvey's) late translation of Mantuan, Mr Sandys' of Ovid, Mr Ogilby's of Virgil, will abundantly supply them with heroic verses, after they can truly and readily make which, they may converse with others, that take liberty to sport it in lyric verses; amongst all which, Mr Herbert's Poems are most worthy to be mentioned in the first place, and next to them (I conceive) Mr Quarles' *Divine Poems* and his *Divine Fancies*; besides which, you may allow others full of wit and elegance; but be sure you admit of none which are stuffed with drollery or ribaldry, which are more fit to be burnt than to be sent

[1] *See* p. 484.

[2] The 'English poems' referred to in the following passage are:

Thomas Harvey: *Bucolicks of Baptista Mantuan in ten Eclogues. Translated out of Latin.* Lond. 1656 (for Mantuan, *see* p. 375 *supra*).

George Sandys: *Ovid's Metamorphoses, Englished by G. S.*, 1626.

John Ogilby: Translation of *Vergil*, 1649; with plates by Hollar, 1654.

George Herbert: *The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*, 1633.

Francis Quarles: *Divine Poems*, 1633. This contains Quarles' biblical paraphrases, together with his 'Alphabet of Elegies.'

Divine Fancies, digested into Epigrams, Meditations and Observations, in Four Books, 1632.

abroad to corrupt good manners in youth. After they are thus become acquainted with a variety of metre, you may cause them to turn a fable of Aesop into what kind of verse you please to appoint them; and sometimes you may let them translate some select epigrams[1] out of Owen, or those collected by Mr Farnaby or some emblems out of Alciat or the like flourishes of wit, which you think will more delight them and help their fancies. And when you see that they begin to exercise their own wits for enlargement and invention, you may leave them to themselves to make verses upon any occasion or subject; yet to furnish them with rhymes, epithets and variety of elegant expressions, you may let them make use of the pleasant *English Parnassus*, of Mr Joshua Poole[2].'

[1] John Owen (?1560–1621) is spoken of as the greatest Epigrammist since the time of Martial. He was Head-master of Warwick Grammar School c. 1594. *See* Leach: *History of Warwick School*, pp. 124–134.

The first form of his book was: *Joannis Audoeni Epigrammatum Libri Tres*, 1606. The first collected edition of his epigrams was published at Amsterdam 1624.

Thomas Farnaby's 'Epigrams' were a collection of translations of Epigrams from the Greek Anthology into Latin, by a number of distinguished classicists, together with a number by himself (*see* p. 485 *infra*).

For an account of Alciat's Emblems—*see* Henry Green: *Andrea Alciati and his Book of Emblems*. 1872.

[2] The title in full is: *The English Parnassus: or a Help to English Poesie. Containing a short Institution of that Art: A Collection of all rhyming Monosyllables, The choicest Epithets and Phrases: with some General Forms upon all Occasions, Subjects and Theams, Alphabetically digested.* By Joshua Poole, M.A., Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1657. This book may be described as an attempt to do for English what Erasmus had done for Latin in his *Copia verborum et rerum*.

Note A.

The Flores Poetarum and Greek Anthology.

The Latin *Flores Poetarum.*

Flores poetarum de virtutibus et viciis 1480?, Cologne. 1490, Cologne. *Illustrium Poetarum Flores. Per Octavianum Mirandulam collecti, et in locos communes digesti. Lugduni, apud Joannem Tornaesium, Typog. Regium.* 1570.

Elenchus Poetarum ex quorum operibus Flores collecti sunt: Vergilius, Ovidius, Horatius, Juuenalis, Persius, Lucanus, Seneca, Boetius, Plautus, Terentius, Lucretius, Martialis, Silius Italicus, Statius, C. Valerius Flaccus, Manilius, Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, Claudianus, Ausonius.

Quibus iam dudum accesserunt: Tit. Calphurnius, Petronius Arbiter, Olympius Nemesianus, Cornelius Gallus, Paulinus.

Editions of *Flores Poetarum* of Oct. Mirandula in British Museum Library:

The earlier editions were entitled *Viridarium Illustrium Poetarum*, Venice 1507, Lugduni 1512, Paris 1513.

The book was afterwards entitled: *Illustrium Poetarum Flores*: Argentorati 1538; other editions 1539, 1565, 1574, 1582, 1585, 1586, 1588, 1616.

London editions:

Thomas Creed, London, 1598[1], London, impensis Arthuri Johnson 1611.

The London 1611 edition of the *Flores Poetarum* consists of 184 pp. of text and seven pages of *Index Locorum Communium.* In the Index there are nearly 300 subjects or commonplaces, to which the reader is referred to find Latin verse quotations in that subject. The Index is alphabetical. Thus under the letter I in the Index are the following subjects: Ignavia, Ignorantia, Ignota, Imperitia, Imperium, Impossibilia, Incontinentia, Infamia, Ingratitudo, Inimicitiae, Injuria, Innocentia, Invidia, Ira, Judicium, Jura, Justitia, Juventus.

The Greek Anthology or Florilegium.

Flores Poetarum non minus iucundissimi, quam utilissimi pro instruendis pueris in primis lectionibus. Sancti Basilii de liberalibus studiis et ingenuis moribus Liber per Leonardum Ar. (*Aretinum*) *ex graecis in latinum conversus* (? 1519). 4to. (Typis Junt.)

[1] 13 Feb. $159\frac{7}{8}$. Entered to Thomas Creede—the book entituled '*Illustrium poetarum flores* [*per*] *Octavium Mirandilum colecti* etc. to pay vid. in the *li* to the use of the poore. Provided that this entrance shall serve but for one impression only and no more.'

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septem libros divisum. Venetiis in aedibus Aldi mense Nouembri MD.III. Also issued by the Aldine Press in 1521, 1551.

This Greek Anthology was collected by Maximus Planudes[1], a monk of Constantinople (about 1301 A.D.), and edited by A. J. Lascaris. It begins: ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΤΕΘΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΣΟΦΟΙΣ.

Per Laurentium Francisci de Alopa, Florentiae 1494. Paris edition 1531, Basle 1549, H. Stephen, Paris 1566. A London edition 1667.

ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΙΑφόρων ΕΠΙγραμμάτων Παλαιῶν, *εἰς ἑπτὰ βιβλία διηρημένη.*

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum veterum, in septem libros divisum. 1566. Edited by Henry Stephens.

Greek text of 539 large 8° pages and 17 pages of Annotations in Latin.

A selection from Stephen's work was reproduced in England by John Stockwood under the title *Progymnasma Scholasticum* (1597). Brinsley especially commends this book for its examples of variations of verses.

'For turning of verses divers ways, M. Stockwood in his *Progymnasma Scholasticum* is *instar omnium* to direct and to encourage young scholars, in which book towards the end of it, you shall have one distich or couple of verses varied 450 ways.' The verses are these:

> Linque Cupido jecur, cordi quoque parcito; si vis
> Figere, fige alio tela cruenta loco.

In another instance a single line, by transposing the words, 'is turned' 104 ways; all the same words, and only those words being kept; which might seem impossible, 'but that there we may see it before our eyes,' that nine words should serve to make 104 verses, all of the same matter. The verse is this:

> Est mea spes Christus solus, qui de cruce pendet.
> Est Christus solus mea spes, qui de cruce pendet.
> Est solus Christus mea spes, qui de cruce pendet.
> Solus de cruce, &c.

Then solemnly follow 101 other variants.

A full vocabulary and commentary is given of each Greek word that presents any difficulty, and a word for word translation is given of the Greek into Latin, and alternative verse-renderings in Latin are presented

[1] The Planudean Anthology was substantially an abridgement of the Collection of Epigrams of Constantinus Cephalas (c. 920 A.D.), who brought together epigrams from 320 writers.

to the pupil. Wherever Stockwood can find them he gives interpretations in Latin from well-known Latinists, such as Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Politian, Marcellus, Alciat, Sleidan. Usually there is given the Latin rendering of H. Stephens, and always that of Stockwood himself. Often after giving one of his own, he will offer one or two or more *aliter ab eodem* until he produces the masterpiece of 450 variants of his own. He says he was provoked to do this *tour de force* by the example of Stephens so as to give courage to grammar-school boys and studious youth that they might try to do the same with other epigrams in their leisure hours, an employment which he promises will lead to their great delight, and at the same time be of high usefulness to them.

There are seventy-five epigrams, each of which is buried in a long commentary of explanation. Moreover, at the end further annotations of Stephens are included in an appendix. The work is clearly the outcome of enormous toil. Stockwood rejoiced in the opportunity afforded by Greek epigrams of translating them into Latin verse, and was anxious to make the exercise lead the pupils to readiness of resource in the variety of renderings.

'Η τῆς ἀνθολογίας 'Ανθολογία.

Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum, eorumque latino versu a variis redditorum. Londini Excudebat Felix Kyngstonius 1629. (By Thomas Farnaby.) Also 1671.

This is a small book of 113 pp. consisting of Greek epigrammatic verses selected from the Greek Anthology together with translations into Latin verse by various authors, e.g. Sir Thomas More, H. Stephens, Erasmus, Wm Lily, Politian, Sleidan, Alciat, Joseph Scaliger, Gyraldus, George Buchanan, D. Heinsius, and of course a considerable number by Thomas Farnaby himself.

Note B.

The following passage which mentions verse-teaching is taken from Geo. Gascoigne, *Glasse of Gouernment*, 1575:

Gnomaticus: 'Tell me what you have read and in what manner the same hath been delivered unto you?'

Phylautus: 'Sir, my brother here and I have been taught first the rules of the grammar, after that we had read unto us the familiar communications called the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, and next to that the [*de*] *Officiis* of Cicero, that was our last exercise.'

Gnomaticus: 'It hath been well done and have you not also been taught to versify?'

Phylautus: 'Yes, truly, Sir, we have therein been (in manner) daily instructed.'

Gnomaticus: 'And you Phylosarcus: how have you passed your time?'

Phylosarcus: 'Sir: my brother and I have also been taught our grammar and to make a verse; we have read certain comedies of Terence, certain Epistles of Tully and some part of Virgil; we were also entered into our Greek grammar.'

Note C.

The Country Grammar School.

The course of a country Grammar School, c. 1635, and the place of verses in it, is shown by Adam Martindale who supplies us with a full account of his schoolwork as a boy at the Free School of St Helens:

'As for the proficience I made under my master 'twas this: He received me when I was learning in *As in præsenti* and Cato, and instructed me for prose in Corderius, Æsop's Fables, Tullie's Offices, epistles, and orations, together with Aphthonius for Latin in prose, and the Greek Grammars of Camden first, and Clenard afterwards, together with a Greek Catechism, and lastly the Greek Testament (for I proceeded no further with him); and for poetry in Mantuan, Terence, Ovid's Epistles and Metamorphoses, Virgil, and Horace. The rhetorics he read to us were Susenbrotus first and Talaeus afterwards. Mine exercises were usually a piece of Latin (of which he himself dictated the English) every day of the week, save Thursdays and Saturdays; and besides somewhat weekly as I rose in ability, first a dialogue in imitation of Corderius, or Pueriles Confabulatiunculæ, then an epistle wherein I was to follow Cicero, though (alas!) at a great distance. Then themes (as we called them) in the way of Aphthonius, consisting of many parts and taking up one side of half a sheet pretty thick written, and (towards the latter end) good store of verses on the back side, most hexameters and pentameters, but some sapphics and adonics. All that were presumed by their standing able to discourse in Latin were under a penalty if they either spoke English or broke Priscian's head; but barbarous language, if not incongruous for grammar, had no punishing but derision. These were the orders we were subject to at teaching hours; yea, though we had liberty by twos to go forth of the school upon our necessary occasions, real or pretended, and sometimes (when the humour took him) he would tie us to them at our times for play.'

CHAPTER XXX.

THE TEACHING OF GREEK.

The equipment for learning Greek was scanty in the early part of the 16th century. By 1520 there were some Greek Grammars such as those of Chrysoloras and Gaza, but the first Greek Grammar of wide circulation was that of Clenard, printed at Louvain in 1530. Clenard's Grammar marks the possibility of Greek as a school subject, unless indeed the schoolmasters had been so well trained in Greek that they could teach it by translation and re-translation, and supply the grammar as they went on. But the fact is that, great as was the value set on Greek by scholars, it was a rare accomplishment amongst even University students. In 1500, Hallam says, not more than three or four could be now mentioned who had any tincture of Greek, and he names Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, and Thomas More. The number had increased by 1520, but it was inconsiderable; Hallam's list of Greek scholars in England does not reach to twenty.

Amongst these was William Lily, the name best known of all English schoolmasters through his Latin Grammar. He has perhaps a still higher title to singular recognition. He was probably the first Head-master to teach Greek in an English school after the Revival of learning. Lily was appointed High-master of St Paul's School in 1512.

To have a High-master who knew Greek was a great distinction for a Grammar School at this early date. Colet in his Statutes for St Paul's School, in 1518, made the condition that

future Head-masters must be 'learned in good and clean Latin literature,' and 'also in Greek, *if such may be gotten*.' When Wolsey drew up Statutes for Ipswich School in 1528, he did not include any Greek in the curriculum, yet we have seen that he was not lacking in the desire to advance the subject in the University of Oxford, eight years earlier. In Richard Cox's plan of work at Saffron Walden Grammar School in 1525 there is no Greek, whilst at Eton, though two Head-masters knew Greek, there is no evidence that Greek was taught till, in the *Consuetudinarium* of Malim in 1560, we find 'Graecam Grammaticam *aut aliud*' at the judgment of the teacher for the sixth and seventh Forms. In the Statutes for Merchant Taylors' School, 1561, the qualifications of the Head-master repeat those of St Paul's School. The Head-master is to be learned in Greek, 'if such may be gotten.' In 1607, when the Probation Book of Merchant Taylors' School prescribed Greek in forms taught by the Chief Usher and the orders were communicated to him, he informed the Governors that he was not able to teach Greek, and the Head-master undertook to supply his deficiency.

On the other hand, from the time of Erasmus's residence at Cambridge, c. 1510–1514, the aspiration for knowledge of Greek was increasingly felt in England[1].

In 1516 the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More was published at Louvain, in which he says: 'When the Utopians had heard me speak of the Greek literature or learning...they made wonderful earnest and importunate suit unto me, that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning....Therefore, in less than three years space, there was nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked.'

In 1531, in the *Gouvernour*, Sir Thomas Elyot requires a teacher to be 'excellently learned both in Greek and Latin.'

[1] The difficulties of the introduction of Greek were similar to those later on in the introduction of Mathematics and of Science. The conservative defenders of the old system used the *odium theologicum* with telling effect, 'Cave a Graecis, ne haereticus fias.'

From the age of seven years, the child is to 'learn Greek and Latin authors at the same time, or else to begin with Greek.... If a child do begin therein at seven years of age, he may continually learn Greek authors three years and in the meantime use the Latin tongue as a familiar language.' Elyot says Greek grammars are 'almost innumerable,' but he would not have the child detained long over the grammar, 'For a gentle wit is therewith soon fatigate.' These are the books for the child to read—a long list, over which Sir Thomas Elyot revels: Æsop's *Fables*, *Select Dialogues* of Lucian, *Comedies* of Aristophanes, Homer, Virgil, Silius, Lucanus, Hesiodus. These will suffice up to twelve years of age! It is explained, however, that from each should only be chosen so much instruction as is fitted to the child, and at least it is to be expected that the spirit of poetry shall enter his soul 'to inflame his courage and to condemn folly.'

Greek is thus well represented by Elyot in the curriculum up to twelve years of age. In the later stages, Xenophon, Aristotle and Plato form some of the chief of the studies, for moral philosophy is to Elyot the highest of humanistic disciplines—and the Greeks, especially Plato, are incomparable 'in sweetness of words and matter.'

In another passage Elyot says[1] that at the time of his writing there were 'divers excellent learned men in laws civil and in physic,' who were also 'exactly studied in all parts of eloquence both in the Greek tongue and Latin.'

In 1541, the Statutes of the new Cathedrals established by King Henry VIII provided that there should be in each a Grammar Schoolmaster 'learned in Latin and Greek.'

In 1533, Sir Thomas Smith was Greek Lecturer at Cambridge, and in 1540 he was followed by Sir John Cheke, who was the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. In the proposed College of Christchurch, Canterbury, 1539, £30 a year was assigned for a reader in Greek, and sixty scholars

[1] *Gouvernour* (ed. Crofts), I. p. 145.

were to be taught in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and each to receive a scholarship of 5 marks a year. In a letter of Roger Ascham[1], written in 1542, he says of Cambridge: 'Aristotle and Plato are being read even by boys (i.e. undergraduates). Sophocles and Euripides are more familiar authors than Plautus was in your time; Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon are more conned and discussed than Livy was then. Demosthenes is as familiar an author as Cicero used to be; and there are more copies of Isocrates in use than there used to be of Terence.'

The English printers up to 1540 had little Greek type. In 1519 a few Greek words were cut in wood in Whittinton's *Liber Grammatices*. In 1521 Siberch, of Cambridge, gave occasional quotations in cast type in Greek. In 1524 some Greek words, without accents, occur in Linacre's *De emendata structura*[2]. In 1543 R. Wolfe printed *Two Homilies of St Chrysostom*, edited by Sir John Cheke. Wolfe held a royal patent to print Greek, Latin and Hebrew works. In 1575 the New Testament Greek Text was issued; in 1573 Nowell's *Catechism* in Greek; in 1581 Crispin's *Greek-Latin Lexicon*; in 1591 Homer's *Iliad*. In 1610 came the great work of Savile's edition of St Chrysostom's Works.

Up to 1550 the actual out-put of English editions of Greek books of any kind was quite inconsiderable. The whole educational equipment in Greek came from abroad. This is confirmatory evidence that the study of Greek was not widespread. Indeed, from a consideration of all the facts, it seems clear that the study of Greek in any way bearing directly on school practice had no strong hold on the English schools before the return of the English refugees from Switzerland, after the Marian Persecution.

In addition to the schools already named prior to that time, there is one other to be added, the Statutes of which

[1] Mr Bass Mullinger in *Social England*, III. p. 93.

[2] *See* p. 244.

enjoined Greek, viz. East Retford Grammar School (1552). 'The Master shall teach the scholars of the highest Form the Greek grammar...and some Greek authors so far as his learning and convenient time will serve thereunto.'

After 1558 the requirement of Greek becomes frequent in the Statutes, and no Grammar School course was regarded as adequate unless it included Greek. This stage had been reached by Brinsley's time, i.e. by 1612.

I shall first give representative Statutes of schools enjoining Greek up to 1600.

1558. *Witton Grammar School* (*Cheshire*).

'I will there were always taught good literature both Latin and Greek.'

1561. *Merchant Taylors' School.* (*See* p. 499 *infra*.)

1562. *St Saviour's School, Southwark.*

'Æsop and Calvin's Catechism in Latin and Greek, the New Testament in Greek.'

1566. *Rivington Grammar School.*

'When your scholars have been thus exercised in passing through these exercises before rehearsed, with often repeating them, and other like, to keep them in memory, their wits shall be well framed to greater things. And now they may enter one part of the day to the Greek Grammar, and such a one as is the shortest and plainest, if they be meet and willing thereto, not meddling so much with variety of the tongues, as briefly setting forth the common tongue....

'After that they have been exercised with variety of words in their Greek declensions and conjugations, they may have read unto them, first, Tabula Cebetis in Greek, and then some Oration of Isocrates, and after, Euripides. But weekly besides this, they must write some epistles or verses...and after, turning Greek into Latin, and Latin into Greek, and

changing one kind of verse into another, and verses into prose and prose into verse.'

1568. *Friars' School* (*Bangor*).

'Nothing shall be taught in the said school but only grammar and such authors as concern the Latin and Greek tongues.

'The Usher at Bangor is to teach the alphabet and Greek letters with all things thereunto belonging for the ready and perfect reading of the same tongue.'

Clenard's Greek Grammar is mentioned.

1580. *Sandwich Grammar School.*

Boys 'should learn but few books...in Greek and not be suffered to rove in many authors, but that few should be learned most perfectly.'

About the same time similar provision for Greek was made at Tonbridge School.

1583. *St Bees' Grammar School.*

'The Greek Grammar of Clenard or some other generally allowed; the little Greek Catechism set forth by public authority, and any other good author in Greek.'

1588. *Hawkshead Grammar School.*

The Head-master was 'to teach grammar and the principles of the Greek tongue.'

1590. *Harrow.*

'Form IV. *Grammatica Graeca.*

'Form V. Demosthenes, Isocrates, Hesiod, Heliodorus, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Graece.'

1593. *Durham School.*

'Boys are required to read Greek Grammar with part of an author, and to frame a Greek epistle and to utter a Greek verse, to read Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Theognis or Phocylides.'

c. 1600. *Heath Grammar School* (*Halifax*).

The Master was 'to read (with the boys) the Greek Testament, the Greek poets, Hesiod or Homer.'

Greek may be said to have established itself in the Grammar Schools after this date[1].

For a representative country school of c. 1630 or 40, we have the case of *Rotherham School* where about 1640 the Greek grammar was learned in the fifth and sixth Forms. In the sixth Form boys read the Greek Testament beginning with St John's Gospel. They construed the Greek Testament into Latin. In the seventh Form the boys read Isocrates, construing as before into Latin. In the eighth Form they read Hesiod construed into Latin, and in the ninth Form the boys read Homer.

From a study of the Statutes the inference seems to be that the study of Greek received its great stimulus from the returned English refugees in 1558. Men like Dean Nowell and Bishop Pilkington, who had seen schools abroad, and who had mixed with Protestant Reformers of churches and schools, had come back filled with the idea of the possibilities of education. They realised intensely the part which Catechisms played in the inculcation of religions and theological beliefs. They saw the usefulness of the translation of the Catechism into Latin and Greek, as a method of spreading the learning of those languages, and, above all, they were impressed with the need of a more widespread knowledge and interest in the study of the New Testament in Greek and even the Old Testament in Hebrew, as a basis of unifying the claims of religion and of education. The introduction of Greek into the Elizabethan schools was not primarily a classical motive so much as a religious instrument. Greek and Hebrew were the sacred languages. In the Universities, however, the efforts of Erasmus, Smith and Cheke were fruitful, and the classical Greek was

[1] Greek was taught also in private schools such as that of Noah Bridges at Putney 1653.

studied, in spite of all the vicissitudes which seemed likely enough at times to break down all scholastic progress. The close connexion of the English system of schools and universities strengthened the classical work of the schools, and led to the combined study of the Greek of the Catechism and of the New Testament together with some classical Greek authors.

Whilst the main impulse to the study of Greek in the schools was thus mainly from the side of the reading of the New Testament, the spur given to the study of Greek by this movement carried with it, to a greater or less extent, the traditions of the Renascence centred in Erasmus, Sir Thomas Elyot, and Sir Thomas More. These were expressed in the New Age of education succeeding the enlightenment caused by English residence in Geneva and elsewhere. For it must be remembered that the views on classical culture—as a means of education expressed in the most complete form in English by Roger Ascham—were not published in the earlier age of the Renascence, but in 1570, after the return of the English Protestant refugees. In the *Scholemaster*, Ascham says:

'Now, let Italian and Latin itself, Spanish, French, Dutch and English bring forth their learning and recite their Authors, Cicero onely excepted, and one or two moe in Latin, they be all patched clouts and rags in comparison of fair woven broad clothes. And truly, if there be any good in them, it is either learned, borrowed or stolen from someone of those worthy wits of Athens.'

This pronouncement of the incomparable supremacy of Greek was published at the very time that William Shakespere was a child, about to enter upon his Grammar School career of 'little Latin and less Greek,' and when Ascham himself, by his *Scholemaster*, was giving, on the whole, perhaps a greater impetus to the use of the English language than he gave to Greek studies. For Ascham's *Scholemaster*, remarkable and attractive as it always has been to the scholarly classicist, has only ministered to an audience 'fit though few,' and has

exercised its influence in any direction rather than that of the 'Scholemaster' of Grammar Schools[1]. The circulation of Ascham's *Scholemaster* cannot have been great. The editions of 1570 and 1571 are virtually one—and the only other edition in Queen Elizabeth's reign was in 1589.

Several of the public schools present historical problems of interest in connexion with the teaching of Greek. Thus, with regard to Winchester, Mr Leach suggests that Chandler (*d.* 1490) and Warham (*d.* 1532), visitors of the College, are likely to have seen that Winchester was in the vanguard in the teaching of Greek, and the *Vulgaria* (1519) of Horman (Headmaster of Eton (1485–1494) and of Winchester (1494–1502) contains sentences such as 'We have played a comedy of Greek,' showing at least an interest in Greek studies. In the time-table which Mr Leach has reconstructed for Winchester for 1550–1650, Homer, Pindar, Musaeus and Hesiod are included. So also the Greek catechism of Dean Nowell finds a place.

Of Eton, Mr Maxwell Lyte quotes from Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, who wrote in 1556: 'I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace,' but he adds: 'the studie of which is now a late much decaid.' Sir Thomas Smith was Provost in 1547. Malim's *Consuetudinarium* in 1560 represents Greek studies by the Greek grammar alone, with no authors. In 1563, when Queen Elizabeth visited Eton, the Eton boys presented her with a collection of Latin verses. In the collection were included four lines in Greek, but these were written by William Malim, the Head-master. Sir Henry Savile may well be supposed to have quickened the studies in Greek (c. 1600), and to have introduced Camden's Greek Grammar at Eton,

[1] It is, of course, 'purposed to provide the bringing up of youth in gentlemen's and noblemen's houses.' Ascham probably did not contemplate that the free (Grammar) schools could accomplish in Latin and Greek what was done by them in the 17th century. He wished to exert his influence where he thought there was most hope—viz.—in the stimulation of noblemen and gentlemen to classical culture.

which eventually became known as the *Eton Greek Grammar*, when at Westminster School Camden's Grammar gave way to Busby's.

Of the schools of the period, Westminster appears to furnish the most direct facts with regard to the development of Greek. In 1560 the sixth Form began Greek Grammar as at Eton. But in Laud's Transcript of the Studies of Westminster School, made between 1621 and 1628, the Greek Grammar was then begun in the fourth Form and in the same Form Lucian's *Dialogues* were read. The fifth Form read from Isocrates and Plutarch. In the sixth and seventh Forms the authors to be read were as follows:—

'*The authors in class work*[1]. Westminster School. Laud's transcript, 1621–8. 6th and 7th Forms.

'Betwixt one to 3, that lesson, which, out of some author appointed for that day, had been by the M^r^ expounded unto them (out of Cicero, Virgil, Hom^r^, Eurip: Isocr: Livie, Sallust etc.) was to be exactlie gone through by construing and other grammatical waies, examining all the rhetoricall figures and translating it out of verse into prose, or out of prose into verse; out of Gr into lat: or out of lat into Gr. Then they were enjoyned to commit that to memorie against ye next morn^g^.'

The other parts of class work at Westminster School, 1621–8, in Greek included the following:

'6th and 7th Forms.

'*Latin and Greek Grammar.*

'Between 6 and 8 a.m. we repeat our grammar pts (out of Lilie for Lat. out of Camden for the Greek) 14 or 15 being selected and called out to stand in a semi-circle before the Mr

[1] Mr Sargeaunt (*Annals of Westminster School*, p. 40) says it is probable that the *Greek Anthology* found an early place in the curriculum. 'The Greek Authors must have owed their place at Westminster to Dean Goodman about 1566.'

and other scholars, and there repeated 4 or 5 leaves in either, the Mr appointing who should beginne, and who should goe on with such and such rules.'

'*Rhetorical Figures, Proverbs and Sentences.* 6th and 7th Forms.

'Betwixt 4 and 5 they repeated a leafe or two out of some books of Rhetoricall figures, or choice proverbs and sentences collected by the Mr for that use. After that they were practised in translating some Dictamina out of Lat. or Gr. and sometimes turning Lat. and Gr. verse into English verse. Then a theame was given to them whereon to make prose and verses Lat. and Gr. against the next morning.'

It was from Westminster that a series of Greek Grammars proceeded. Edward Grant, Head-master of Westminster, produced his *Graecae linguae Spicilegium* in 1575. This was adapted by William Camden into an elementary Greek Grammar, and was used in Westminster till 1647[1], when it was superseded by Dr Busby's Greek Grammar, and as already stated Camden's book became the *Eton Greek Grammar* Westminster was fortunate in the prelates who took an interest in the school, and in Greek. Thus Lancelot Andrewes (afterwards Bishop), whilst Dean of Westminster, 'in the evenings would send for the elder boys to the Deanery, and teach them Greek and Hebrew from eight to eleven o'clock.' Another indication of the interest felt at Westminster School in Greek is the fact that in 1655 Roger Daniel dedicated his edition, the first in England, of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament to Westminster School. He says in his Latin dedication, not long ago he had 'not much to say in praise of *Graecae linguae Rudimenta*, but now he has to offer the book which is *facile princeps* of all Greek writings. The difficulties of the production of this beautiful work have been somewhat heavy. I have inscribed these holy volumes the true foundations of piety and erudition to you, boys, pious, learned, and

[1] Sargeaunt, p. 52.

in every direction of the highest hope—mindful, in the highest degree, of the precept, Ne sacra Canibus, non Porcis Margaritas. R.D.'

One other old school must be mentioned in connexion with the study of Greek. Magdalen College School, Oxford, was not only a pioneer in the production of Latin Grammars, but it took care to secure Greek teaching by paying its master an extra sum for undertaking instruction in Greek. In 1563, Nicholas Balguay was Greek lecturer in the College and his services were retained by £2 a year extra stipend for teaching Greek in the school. He resigned the Greek lectureship in the College, and became Head-master of the school. On Queen Elizabeth's visit to the College, in 1566, he delivered an address to her Majesty in Greek[1]. From this time onwards till after the Restoration, the Master of Magdalen College School received an increment to his salary of £10 a year of first £2 and later £3. 6*s*. 8*d*. a year for Greek. Similarly, later, the Usher, whose salary was £5 a year, received £2 extra for reading Greek in the school.

At St Paul's School, Greek was a subject of instruction probably from the first master, William Lily, continuously. In 1559, Thomas Freeman, who had been Head-master previously at Mercers' School, but promoted to St Paul's in 1549, was 'warned to avoid from his office for insufficiency of learning and lack of the Greek tongue.'

At Merchant Taylors' School there are signs that Greek was taught effectively. For instance:

Merchant Taylors' School. 11 June, 1596.

'Two scholars pronounced Greek orations and four scholars going to University were apposed and examined in Greek and Latin.'

11 June, 1597. Two boys pronounced Greek orations. So June 11, 1600, 1602. In 1616, seven of the principal

[1] Bloxam, I. p. 127.

scholars pronounced orations in Greek and Latin. 1617, nine of the principal scholars pronounced orations in Greek and Latin. 1618, six. In 1619, ten. 1621, nine. 1622, nine. 1623, nine.

In 1606, a Probation or Examination Day was appointed for Merchant Taylors' School. Among the subjects required from pupils were the following:

'Fourth Form. Greek declensions and conjugations. Fifth Form. The making of Parodiae or imitations of Greek verses. Sixth Form. A passage of Cicero to be turned into Greek.'

Further:

'1. The schoolmaster having opened, on the sudden, the Greek Testament, Æsop's Fables, or some other very easy Greek author, shall read some short sentence, without naming letters, accent, spirit, or point, or telling them anything that may help their understanding thereof; and the scholars shall write, word by word, after the schoolmaster, and presently translate the same into proper and plain English, leaving empty spaces, so often as they are not able to translate it themselves.

'2. They shall turn the same sentence into proper and plain Latin and also into Greek.

'3. They shall also turn it into Greek hexameters and pentameters, or sapphics.

'4. They shall make two, three, or more periods in Greek prose, and also some Greek verses upon some Greek sentence propounded.'

The story of John Bois (1561–1644), a Greek scholar, and one of the translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible, throws light on the teaching of Greek. His father, William Bois, went to school at Halifax; his mother, Mirabel Bois, 'had read the Bible twelve times and the Book of Martyrs twice, besides other books not a few.' Between

five and six years of age, it is said John Bois could read the Hebrew Bible and write the characters elegantly. His father had taught him Greek. Bois then attended Hadleigh Grammar School (Suffolk). There he had as school-fellow John Overall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and colleague of Bois on the Board of Translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible[1]. When Bois reached Cambridge, he studied Greek under Andrew Downes, Professor of Greek in the University from 1585 to 1624. Downes had been at Shrewsbury Grammar School. The ordinances of Shrewsbury required the teaching of Greek (by Clenard's *Grammar*), the Greek Testament, Isocrates *ad Demonicum* or 'Xenophon his *Cyrus*.' Downes studied at Shrewsbury, under the first Head-master, Thomas Ashton, for at any rate, five years, and gave his testimony that 'next to God and his parents he owed most to his schoolmaster[2].' It is not improbable that in the instances of most of the forty-seven Translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible a reasonable share of the preparatory training was provided by the school classical tone and definite elementary teaching of Greek and in some cases of Hebrew.

Roughly speaking, the history of the school teaching of Greek may be divided into the two periods marked by the predominance of

i. The *Greek Grammar* of Clenard up to 1597.

ii. Camden's *Greek Grammar*, 1597–1647, after 1647 known as the *Eton Greek Grammar*.

[1] Whether the two school-fellows studied Greek and Hebrew or either, at Hadleigh cannot be definitely said, but it may be noted that at a similar small Grammar School at Newport (Essex) the Orders for the Government of the School in 1589 enjoined the teaching of *Greek* and *Hebrew*.

[2] G. W. Fisher's *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, p. 12.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TEXT-BOOKS FOR THE TEACHING OF GREEK.

CLENARD'S Greek Grammar[1] was printed at Louvain in 1530. Hallam says: 'This grammar was continually reprinted with successive improvements, and defective as, especially in its original state, it must have been, was far more conspicuous than that of Gaza, though not, perhaps, more judicious in principle....It is the principal basis of those lately or still in use among us, such as the *Eton Greek Grammar.* The proof of this is that they follow Clenardus in most of his innovations, and too frequently for mere accident, in the choice of instances.'

The earliest Greek Grammar published in England appears to be that of David Tolley, a physician, in 1547. There is no trace of the use of this *Grammar* in the schools. The following is a list of Greek Grammars besides those already mentioned in England between 1530–1660, but it is doubtful if any one of them had much circulation:

1581. *Rudimenta Graeca e P. Rami Grammaticis praecipue collecta; a B. Salignaco. Apud H. Binneman, Londini* 1581.

1600. Richard Knowles. *Grammaticae Latinae, Graecae et Hebraicae Compendium.*

1620. Eilhardus Lubinus. *Clavis Linguae Graecae.*

[1] The title is: *Institutiones Absolutissimae in Graecam Linguam. Item Annotationes in Nominum Verborumque difficultates. Investigatio Thematis in verbis anomalis. Compendiosa Syntaxeos ratio.*

1629. John Prideaux. *Tabulae ad Grammaticam Graecam Introductoriae.*

1626. Antony Laubegeois. *Graecae Linguae Epitome.*

n.d. Thomas Farnaby. *Tabulae Graecae Linguae.*

1640. J. Posselii Σύνταξις *Graeca. R. Daniel Cantabrigiae.*

John Brinsley (1612) and Charles Hoole (1660), are again the authors to whom we must turn for the methods of teaching Greek. 'The way to learn Greek,' says Brinsley, 'is the same as for Latin.' Thorough knowledge and constant drill in the Accidence and Grammar are the first requisites. Both Brinsley and Hoole take Camden's Grammar as the starting-point of Greek instruction.

Camdeni Grammatica.

Institutio Graecae Grammatices Compendiaria in usum Regiae Scholae Westmonasteriensis 1597. Numerous editions.

William Camden was Head-master of Westminster School 1593–1597. It is said that there had been 40 editions of this book by 1691, and not less than 100 editions have been noted altogether. Camden's Greek Grammar was grounded on the work of the predecessor of Camden as Head-master of Westminster School, viz. Edward Grant's *Graecae Linguae spicilegium* (*ex officina Henrici Binnemani pro Francisco Coldock* 1575).

Camden's Grammar was to Greek what Lily's Grammar was to Latin. Charles Hoole even in 1660 fears that to tamper with its position as an authorised text-book is more serious than to withhold the use of text-books which his judgment approves as better adapted to the learner. For instance, Hoole thinks Dr Busby's and Mr Dugard's Greek Grammars more 'facile and complete' than Camden's. Brinsley's view had been:

'Master Camden's *Grammar*, notwithstanding the faults in the print (as indeed there are very many; which should be carefully amended in all our School Authors) and what other exceptions

can be taken: because, as it is one of the shortest as yet, so it is most answerable to our Latin Grammar for the order of it. Whereby scholars well acquainted with our common Grammar, will be much helped both for speedy understanding and learning it. Also the words of Art set down in it in Greek as well as Latin, will be a great help for reading Commentaries in Greek: as upon *Hesiod and Homer*.'

Dugard's *Rudimenta Grammaticae Graecae* was published by 1656. Busby's *Graecae Grammatices Rudimenta*[1] was presumably published by 1660, but copies of the early editions do not seem to be forthcoming[2].

In first going over Camden, Brinsley says[3], pupils 'should repeat only the Greek letters and their divisions, the accents and the eight parts of speech, the articles, declensions, and conjugations, the adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions by several parts, as they are best able to get them and to write down as much as they can say at once in a fair paper book very exactly observing and making every accent and note of distinction. This will quickly enable them to write or read Greek very truly, especially if they mind the abbreviated characters, which are now lately printed at the end of most of these grammars. This work will take up about a quarter of a year's time.' In the next half year they may get over the whole of Camden's as it stands.

[1] Hoole describes it as *Busbaei Grammatica Graeca*.

[2] The mention of a book by another writer in this period, is not conclusive proof of its previous appearance in print. There is reason to think that teachers sometimes lent their MSS. to one another. This may account for the mention of some books of which printed copies cannot be found.

[3] *Ludus Literarius*, p. 226. Another Greek Grammar, supplementary to that of Camden, is the *Grammatica Graeca, pro Schola Argentinensi per Theophilum Golium*. The full title of an edition of 1630 is *Grammatica Graeca, sive educatio puerilis linguae graecae, pro gymnasio Argentinensi primum conscripta. Argentorati*, 1630. (Theophilus Golius = Gottlib Goll.) This Strassburg *Greek Grammar*, Brinsley thinks, will be a good commentary, though he regards it as a Grammar 'made in an imitation of Camden.'

On the question of the pupils *speaking* Greek Brinsley is silent, but Hoole informs us in treating of Greek in the fourth Form where boys first learn Greek: 'I commonly appointed Tuesday and Thursday afternoons for this employment of speaking Greek before or after my scholars had performed their other tasks.'

The books recommended by Hoole to help Greek-speaking are:

Joannes Posselius (the elder):

Calligraphia oratoria linguae graecae, ad proprietatem, elegantiam et copiam graeci sermonis parandam utilissima Coloniae Allobr. 1513; *Francofurti* 1585 and many further editions.

Familiarium colloquiorum libellus graece et latine.

Editions were published *Witebergae* 1586, 1601, 1630. (*See* Buisson: *Répertoire des Ouvrages pédagogiques du XVIe siècle.*)

Shirley's Introductorium.

James Shirley (1596–1666) of course is better known as a dramatist. But from 1623–25 he was teaching at St Albans and in the Commonwealth period kept school in Whitefriars.

Εἰσαγωγή, *sive*, *Introductorium Anglo-Latino-Graecum. Complectens Colloquia familiaria, Æsopi Fabulas, et Luciani Selectiores mortuorum Dialogos. In Usum Scholarum Per J. Sh. London* 1656. 8vo.

There are 600 Formulae of speaking provided in English, Latin, Greek, beginning with the familiar 'God save you, Sir,' and ending with a letter divided into sentences, expressing the grateful thanks of a pupil who has been seen through all the preliminary course before going to the Universities. After the *Formulae loquendi*, follow a few dialogues, dealing with illness, journey, the plague, and the return of a long-absent traveller. Forty of Æsop's Fables are given. The *Dialogues* of Lucian

in English, Latin, Greek occupy about 64 pages. These items constitute the whole of the book. There is no Grammar. The sentences throughout are very easy. It is clearly a first-book of reading for Greek, for which both the English and Latin are likely to be available at a fairly early part of the course. But the point which deserves emphasis is that clearly the idea from which the book starts, and for which it attempts to provide the material, is that Greek, *as well as Latin and English*, is to be learned as a spoken language.

Passing to the subject of translation, Brinsley holds the Greek Testament to be the most fitting book from which the young scholar should learn Greek construction. The reasons for beginning with the Greek Testament[1] laid down by Brinsley are:

1. The familiarity of the English authorised version.

2. Because 'that book with the Hebrew of the Old Testament are the Book of Books, being onely written by the Lord, having life in them.'

All who are able, and especially those who are going to become teachers of others should endeavour to be as perfect as possible in these two sacred languages, 'to have them as familiarly as even the ancient Jews had the Hebrew.'

For those who have comparatively short time to give to Greek study, it is best, Brinsley thinks, to give it to the Greek Testament. For sweetness and purity of the Greek there is no need to look elsewhere; Luke is inferior to none. But for those who wish to read further Greek authors, the Testament is a 'notable entrance.' St John's Gospel is the easiest. Next, the Gospel of Luke. Then, read the Acts. Then, all the Epistles.

[1] For a full account of the editions of the Greek Testament *see* F. H. A. Scrivener: *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. 1883, Chapter v. Amongst the most important and earliest text-editions are the Complutensian, completed 1514, published 1522, Erasmus's 1516, Robert Stephens's 1546–51, The Elzevirs' 1624–33.

The method of studying the Greek Testament is as follows: Know the Grammar well, especially that of the Noun and the Verb. 'Besides the "Greek Testament," everyone should have his English Testament or Latin, or both, and before they learn a lesson, should read it over in the translation, and be able either to say it without book or make a report of it in English or Latin; but better to say it without book, even in English; which with a little reading over, especially before bed-time, those who are of good memories will get quickly. This same done with understanding, will exceedingly bring the Greek with it: besides, thus they shall have much opportunity and furtherance, to get the English text almost by heart, as we term it.'

A little paper-book is to be kept, in which all hard words are carefully to be entered. In this paper-book, there 'should be sundry columns in each page, to write at least the Greek word or English in, in each chapter and the verse against them: to the end to take most pains in those, and to run oft over them.' Brinsley had been willing that pupils should mark the hard words in their Latin texts. But scholars must keep their Greek Testaments fair from blotting or scrawling, 'although a book were well bestowed to make them perfect in it, though it were never so marked.' Moreover, by the time they read Greek, boys should have discretion to both make and keep their notes separately, from the text.

It will save time to learn the Greek *Radices* or Primitive words before proceeding to translation. For which purpose, the Greek *Radices* are to be taken out of Scapula, or the Greek *Nomenclator*. In examining, the questions are first to be asked in English, and then in both Greek and Latin, in this way: 'How say you "I love"? He answereth, "*amo*, ἀγαπάω; ἀγαπάω, *amo*, I love."' In this way with from a quarter to half an hour a day, in a year, the whole of the Greek *Radices* may be thoroughly well known. In learning the *Radices*, care is to be taken to observe the right pronunciation and the 'spirits.' In

the book which Brinsley intended to write on the Greek *Radices*, he proposed to put in the margin, the Hebrew Radix against the Greek Radix. Further, Brinsley intended to 'contrive the Radices into continued speeches,' for still easier learning and memorising, but there is no evidence to show that this project was carried into effect.

In the construing of the Greek Testament, Brinsley returns to his method of casting the 'perfect verbal' translation[1] into the grammatical order, for the pupil by this time will have had ample experience in his Latin translation to adopt the grammatical order for the Greek.

Charles Hoole, in 1660[2], follows Brinsley in advocating the Greek Testament as the first translation book for the Greek pupil. He, too, begins with St John's Gospel, 'which at the first you may help them to construe and have verbatim but

[1] Brinsley seems to allow the 'ordinary interlineal translation' of the Greek Testament. Or 'you may take Beza's Translation and set the verbal translation in the Margent where Beza differeth from it. The difficult Radices should also be set in the Margent.'

He criticises adversely the use of the interlineal translation of Arias Montanus. The Greek and Latin would be better separate, instead of together. For the interlineal translation is a continual prompter to the scholar, instead of being a Master, 'to help only where it should.' The wisest of scholars will find this danger unless he lay, say, a knife or a ruler on the line he should not see, and only remove it as need is. The issuing of various editions of the translation of Arias Montanus is in itself an illustration of the profound interest in the Greek and Latin study of the Bible. He describes his work on the title-page:

Novum Testamentum Graece, Cum vulgata interpretatione Latina Graeci contextus lineis inserta. Quae quidem interpretatio, quum a Graecarum dictionum interpretatione discedit, sensum videlicet magisquàm verba exprimens, in margine libri est collocata atque alia, Ben. Ariae Montani Hispalensis operâ è verbo reddita, ac diverso characterum genere distincta, in eius est substituta locum. Editio postrema, multò quam antehac emendatior.

Cum praefatione eiusdem Ben Ariae Montani, in qua sui huius operis rationem reddit, docetque quis ex eo fructus a sacrae paginae studiosis percipi possit. Aureliae Allobrogum, 1609.

[2] *New Discovery*, etc.

after a while when they have gathered strength of themselves, they should use Pasor's *Lexicon* which they will do better by help of the Themes which I caused to be printed in the margin of the Greek Testament, which will lead them to Pasor, to see the analysis of any word in the Testament.'

The full title of Hoole's edition of the Greek Testament is as follows:

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Novum Testamentum. Huic editioni omnia difficiliorum Vocabulorum Themata, quae in Georgii Pasoris Lexico Grammatice resolvuntur, in margine apposuit Carolus Hoole. In eorum scilicet gratiam, qui prima Graecae Linguae tyrocinia faciunt. Londini*, 1653.

The following is the title of Pasor's *Lexicon*:

Lexicon Graeco-Latinum. In Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum. Ubi omnium vocabulorum, tam Appellativorum Themata, quàm nominum Propriorum Etyma, exquisitè indicantur, et grammatice resolvuntur. Cum Indice Graecorum et Latinarum N. T. vocum accuratissimo. Cui insuper nunc demum accesserunt Tractatus duo: unus de Graecis N. T. Accentibus, alter de Dialectis; uterque apprime utilis, et aeque desideratus. In gratiam Sacr. Lit. et Linguae Graecae Studiosorum. Autore Georgio Pasore. Londini, 1650.

With regard to other Greek authors[1] Brinsley desires the same methods of verbal or grammatical translations as for Latin, 'so that there be a diligent care of propriety in translating, and of variety set in the Margents.' He is obliged to confess that these grammatical translations are not forthcoming for Greek. To supply this defect, the teacher should himself translate the Greek authors to his class either in Latin or in English, and then require the pupils to prepare their lesson with translations, Grammars and Lexicons. Spoudeus objects

[1] It is suggested in the *Ludus Literarius*, that with a knowledge of the New Testament Greek alone, a student will be 'well accepted' in the University.

that to be able thus to translate any authors required, the teacher 'had need to be a good Grecian.' Brinsley's reply seems to be: If you are able to teach Greek at all, you can easily translate to the boys, by the study yourself of such translations as are extant. 'But it were much to be wished, that to this purpose, some skilful Grecians would translate some of the purest Authors in this manner. As namely, Isocrates, Xenophon, Plato or Demosthenes, or some parts of them, for this purpose of getting the Greek....In the meantime, such authors as are translated are to be used, as, e.g. the Fables of Æsop, translated in the Argentine (i.e. the Strassburg) Grammar of T. Golius[1].'

Charles Hoole, at this stage, is desirous that the boys should increase their store of words, nouns and verbs. The latter they are to learn from Gregory's *Nomenclatura* and afterwards as many sentences as they can well say at once from Seidelius, at the latter end of the *Clavis Graecae linguae.* The full titles of these books are:

'Ονομαζικὸν βραχύ, *sive, Nomenclatura brevis Anglo-Latina Graeca* per F. G. (Brit. Mus. copy 1675).

F. G. is Francis Gregory, D.D., Usher at Westminster School under Busby, and afterwards Head-master of Woodstock School. In 1654 Gregory had published:

'Ετυμολογικὸν μικρόν, *sive Etymologicum parvum ex magno illo Sylburgii, Eustathio Martinio, aliisque magni nominis auctoribus excerptum*, 1654.

Seidelius's book is important as a school book in Greek:

'Εγχειρίδιον τῆς 'Ελλάδος Φωνῆς. *Sive Manuale Graecae Linguae Gnomologicum Novum. London*, 1665.

The basis of this work was taken from Eilhardus Lubinus. The first part of the *Encheiridion* contains 600 Greek sentences arranged in alphabetical order, in which only nouns

[1] *See* note p. 503 *supra.*

(substantive and adjective) and indeclinable particles but no verbs except the verb εἰμί, occur. The second part contains 700 sentences, in which nouns and indeclinable particles and *regular verbs* only occur. The third part contains 500 sentences introducing irregular as well as regular verbs. The fourth part consists of a catalogue of 'inane and absurd actions,' and includes many adages from the *Chiliads* of Erasmus, in which not a few words occur omitted from the preceding Centuries. A full and interesting Greek-Latin index is given.

Eilhardus Lubinus:

Clavis Graecae Linguae.

Clavis et fundamenta Graecae linguae, duabus partibus distincta: quarum I. Vocabula Latino-Graeca: II. Omnes totius linguae Graecae voces primogeniae, in vulgari lexico occurrentes alphabetice disponuntur....Editio nova. Amstelodami, 1664. (D. Elzevir.)

The writer of the *Clavis*, Eilhardus Lubinus, translated the *Greek Anthology* in 1603, etc.

The 'helps' for Construing and Parsing recommended by Brinsley are:

1. The *Praxis Praeceptorum Grammatices* of Antesignanus 'wherein,' says Brinsley, 'is both an interlineal verbal translation, and also a parsing of every word familiarly and plainly, much according to the manner of parsing of Latin, which I gave.'

2. Berket's *Commentary upon Stephens' Catechism*, folio ('parsing every word according to Clenard').

3. Stockwood's *Progymnasma scholasticum*[1], 'wherein is also a Grammatical practice of sundry Greek Epigrams gathered by H. Stephens, having a double translation in Latin (the one *ad verbum*, the other in verse) and also a varying of each epigram in Latin verse by divers Authors. And lastly, an

[1] *See* p. 484.

explanation or parsing of every hard word set in the Margent, or under each Epigram in manner of a Commentary. In it also the Greek text is set down both in Greek characters and also in Latin letters interlineally, directly over the head of the Greek words; of purpose for the easy entering and better directing of the ignorant.'

The Greek authors suggested by Brinsley for boys are:

1. Theognis's sentences (with the other poets joined with him, e.g. Phocylides) with the Latin translation and notes, set forth by Sylburgius ('which is very notable to enter young scholars into poetry, for making a verse').

2. Hesiod's *Opera* and *Dies* with Ceporine and Melanchthon's *Commentaries* set forth by Johannes Frisius Tigurinus, and the new translation of it by Erasmus Schmidt, Greek professor at Wittenberg, printed 1601.

3. Homer, with Eustathius's *Greek Commentary*, with the help of the verbal *Latin* translation of Homer.

In reading Greek poetry, it will be necessary to have at hand 'a short brief' of all the dialects and figures, to which to refer all anomalies. Many anomalies and difficulties not explained in Camden's Greek Grammar are to be found, collected together[1] alphabetically, at the end of Scapula's *Lexicon*. These will prove 'a marvellous readiness.'

Hoole[2] recommends in addition to Camden and Scapula, daily recourse should be had to

FRANKLIN DE ORTHOTONIA.

Richard Franklin.

'Ορθοτονία, *seu tractatus de tonis in lingua Graecanica.* London, 1630. 8vo.

Also 2nd ed. 1633. 3rd ed. 1650.

[1] Appendix *de Dialectis*.
[2] *New Discovery*, p. 170.

As to the *Lexicon* recommended by both Brinsley and Hoole:

John Scapula[1]:

Lexicon, Graeco-Latinum, Basle, 1579, 1594, 1605, 1627, 1665 fol. *London* 1619. *Huic accessit...Lexicon etymologicum linguae Graecae...auctore* J. Harmaro etc. London 1637 fol., 1652, 1663 etc. Elzevir's edition 1652 fol.

Further, as a means of improving the knowledge of the Greek, Hoole wishes the pupil to be set to compare the Latin and Greek Grammar, 'to see wherein they agree and wherein they differ, especially in syntax.' For this purpose, will be useful:

Vechneri Hellonexia, i.e. *Hellenolexia.*

Danielis Vechneri Aurimontani Hellenolexia, Sive Parallelismus Graeco-Latinus, Imitationem Graecorum in Lingua Latina duobus libris justa methodo monstrans: ad excolendam utramque linguam, maxime Romanam, apprime utilis.

The earliest edition in the Brit. Mus. is dated Lipsiae 1680.

Brinsley's Method for writing in Greek.

1. Continual practice in construing, parsing and 'reading forth of the translation into the Authors,' is a mode of making Greek.

2. Give sentences or passages out of the *Testament*, or out of Isocrates, e.g. *ad Demonicum*, or out of Xenophon to

[1] Scapula based his *Lexicon* on the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* of Henricus Stephanus (*see* p. 388), which was in five volumes. Stephens' *Thesaurus* was a failure in circulation; Scapula's *Lexicon* a success. Mark Pattison says: 'Stephens himself laid the blame of his disappointment to Scapula's plagiarism....But it was not by plagiarism that Scapula got possession of the market, but by the clear instinct that discerned the imperative condition of manageable bulk. The *Thesaurus* was brought out in 1572; Scapula's *Lexicon* did not appear till 1579. For seven years Stephens had the field to himself. The *Thesaurus* did not go off even when it had no competitor.' (*Essays*, I. pp. 102–3.)

translate into Greek, and then compare with the original. Or else, to ask the Latin or English of the Greek from the pupils and then to get them to re-translate.

Brinsley sees no reason why the pupil should not, by these means, be as accurate in style and composition in Greek as in Latin. Further hints for Greek must be gathered from the rules for Latin composition.

So also with regard to Greek versifying the means are the same as for the making of Latin verses, except that this is more easy because the long and short vowels are so certainly known. The chief directions for Greek verses are: 'To be very perfect in the rules of versifying; in scanning and verse. To learn Theognis, that pleasant and easy poet, without book, to have store of poetical phrase and authorities, which is the speediest and surest way: And so to enter by turning or imitating his verses, as in Latin.' Brinsley, however, enters a *caveat* against spending too much time over Greek writing in that for which we have 'no use; and which therefore we shall forget again.'

The use by Hoole of Franklin's *Orthotonia* and Vechner's *Hellenolexia* has been mentioned above. These authors belong to Hoole's list of the fifth Form. In the matter of Greek Grammars there is a considerable difference between Hoole and Brinsley. The latter is content with Camden and the Strassburg *Greek Grammar*. Hoole does not name the Strassburg *Grammar*, but on the other hand wishes his fifth Form to have within reach the *Grammars* of Busby, Clenard, Scotus, Chrysoloras, Ceporinus, Gaza, Urbanius, Caninius, Gretserus, Posselii *Syntaxis*, 'and as many as can be gotten both ancient and modern, laid up in the School Library, to collect annotations out of, as their leisure will best permit.'

The only *Grammar* written by an Englishman in this list is the *Busbaei Graecae Grammaticae Rudimenta in usum Scholae Westmonasteriensis*, written about 1647.

Some idea of the detail of citation of authors in Busby's

Greek Grammar can be formed by such a passage as the following:

'Infinitivus in ἂν sub se exigit ι. Gaza format praesens infinitivi à praesenti indicativi, addito ν, p. 216, l. 2. (Caninius etiam, p. 77, affirmat *Gazam velle diphthongum in omnibus infinitivis.*)....Grammaticos sui saeculi idem sensisse perhibet Urbanus, p. 212. Posterioris aevi, Sylburgius, Ramus, Crusius, Rhenius, Gualpterus, Cleonardus, Gerson, Vossius, atque alii quos vidimus: Editiones omnes SS. Bib., veteres scholiastae in Dramaticos, libri quotquot a Stephanis evulgati, constanter subnotant. Idem faciunt Viri Ἑλληνικώτατοι (quibus singulis specimen unius saltem operis hic adjicitur:) Julius Pollux in Onomastico, Æmilius Portus in Lexicis, Budaeus in commentariis, Wolfius in Demosthene, Benedictus in Luciano, Scaliger in Eusebii C[h]ronicis, Casaubonus in Strabone et Polybio, Savilius in Chrysostomo, Carolus Morellius in editione patrum Parisiensi, Plantinus in Stobaei Eclogis, Aldus in Demosthene 1527, in Themistio 1534, Petavius in Epiphanio, Grotius in Evangeliis, Salmasius in commentariis ad Simplicium, Heinsius in suis annotationibus ad poetas, Wintertonus in minoribus poetis, Duportus in Ecclesiaste. Quid opus est catalogo? Omnes penè, qui editiones librorum elegantiùs adornârunt, uno quasi consensu subnotationem comprobant[1].'

To compare Busby with Clenard, or even with Camden, is to recognise the enormous development which had taken place in the knowledge of Greek authors between the publication of Clenard's *Institutiones absolutissimae linguae Graecae*, in 1530, and the time of the English Commonwealth. The English as well as foreign Greek scholarship, it will be noted, gets recognition amongst the authorities, in the names of Savile, Winterton and Duport. Clenard and Camden are collections of the elementary facts of Greek grammar without any attempt at critical study. Camden gives very simple illustrations. Busby is not only an advance in

[1] Busby, 1689 ed., p. 296. It should be noted that in spite of his wealth of quotation, modern scholarship does not accept Busby's view.

the amount of information given to boys but also in the method of inquiry. All the Greek Grammars of this period, it may be noted, give the explanations, such as they are, in Latin.

Though Hoole offers such a comprehensive list of Greek Grammars, his mind is fixed on the aim of bringing the pupils 'to oratory and poetry.' He says: 'Herein I may seem to differ from others, that instead of grammar parts (which I reserve to be constantly repeated every Thursday) I would have the fifth Form to learn some lively patterns of oratory, by the frequent and familiar use whereof, and the knowledge of the histories themselves to which they relate, they may at last obtain the art of gallant expression, and some skill to manage future affairs, it being requisite for a scholar more than any man to be expert in speaking and doing.'

Hoole is thus a more determined follower of Quintilian in his paedagogic aims than is Brinsley. He requires Aphthonius three times a week, not merely in Latin, but in both Latin and Greek[1]. 'Out of which book I would have them translate the fables and themes (so as to finish at least one every week) into pure English, and to repeat them (being translated) in both languages, that by that means they may gain the method of these kinds of exercises and inure themselves to pronunciation.

For three-quarters of a year the fifth Form should be exercised in the study of Isocrates. At first they may use the interlineary writing according to the grammatical order. This method evidently Hoole has learned from Brinsley. Parsing and quotations on variation and derivation must accompany the whole lesson, together with rules of syntax and the accents. Phrases and elegant expressions must be noted in a paper-book, and suitable sentences transcribed into the scholars' common-place books.

Greek should be rendered into Latin as well as English, and re-translated from the Latin into Greek. Psalms should

[1] *See* note to p. 422 *supra*.

be translated from English into Latin and from Latin into Greek, and then be compared with the Septuagint Psalter. Sentences or similies (collected by Loinus and from Posselius's *Apophthegms*) should be given in Latin, for translation into Greek to be compared with the authors in the original Greek.

The books referred to are:

Demosthenis Sententiae.

Γνωμολογίαι, καὶ ὁμοιώσεις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων τε καὶ ἐπιστολῶν...

Gnomologiae, id est sententiae collectaneae, et similia ex Demosthenis orationibus ad certa virtutum ac vitiorum capita collecta. Authore I. Loino. Parisiis 1551. 8*vo*. *Also revised and added to by Camerarius, Basle* 1552. 12*mo*. *Lyons* 1603. 16*mo*.

Posselius's Apophthegms.

Apophthegmata ex Plutarcho et aliis selecta inque locos communes redacta gr. et latine. Witebergae 1595.

(Buisson: *Répertoire des Ouvrages pédagogiques du XVIe siècle.*)

The only edition in the British Museum is *Apophthegmata Graeco-latina...Editio...nova Elaborata opera Johanni Posselii filii, etc. Francofurti* 1616. 8vo. Written by the father and revised by the son.

Isocrates having occupied three-quarters of the year, as the Greek author of the fifth Form, for the fourth quarter he yields place to Theognis[1]. The use of that 'pleasing' poet is

[1] Hoole adds: 'Here I must not forget to give notice to all that are taken with this author, that Mr Castilion's *Praelectiones* (which he sometime read at Oxford in Magdalen College, and Mr Langley, late school master of Paul's, transcribed when he was student there) are desirous to see the light, were they but helped forward by some stationer or printer that would but a little consider the author's pains. I need give the work no more

that from him may be taught construing and parsing. Also, the scholar is obliged in reading Theognis 'to mind the dialects,' and must be required to prove and scan, and use him as model for making hexameter and pentameter Greek verses, as Hoole in a lower Form used Ovid's *de Tristibus* for Latin verse.

For parsing lessons the class should use Schrevelii *Lexicon*. An English edition is:

Schrevelii Lexicon.

Cornelius Schrevelius.

Lexicon Manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum. Auctum per Jos. Hill. London 1663. 8vo.

For translating Latin into Greek as useful helps Hoole adds:

Garthii *Lexicon*, annexed to Schrevelius, and the following:

Rulandi Synonyma.

Martin Ruland (the elder).

Synonyma. Copia Graecorum verborum omnium absolutissima. Augustae Vindelicorum 1563. 8vo. (*Basle?*) 1585. *Coloniae Allobrogum* 1624. 8vo.

Morelii Dictionarium.

(1) *Latin, Greek-English.*

Verborum Latinorum cum Graecis Anglicisque conjunctorum locupletissimi Commentarii nova...vocum...accessione adaucti, etc. pp. 1153. *In aedibus H. Bynnemanni per assignationem R. Huttoni. Londoni* 1583. fol.

commendation than to say that (besides Mr Langley who wrote it long ago) Mr Busby, Mr Dugard, Mr Singleton, and some others of note have seen the book, and judged it a most excellent piece not only to help young scholars in the understanding of Theognis, but also to furnish them with abundant matter of invention, and to be a precedent to students in the universities whereby they may learn to compose such kind of lectures upon other poets either for their own private recreation or more public reading.'

(2) *Latin, Greek-French.*

Thesaurus Vocum omnium Latinarum, ordine alphabetico digestarum, quibus Graecae et Gallicae respondent...Adjectae sunt utriusque linguae phrases...opera Guillelmi Morelii descriptae. Hinc postremae editioni accesserunt multae voces, etc. Parisiis 1622. 4to.

Billii Locutiones.

Jacques de Billy de Prunay.

Locutionum Graecarum in communes locos per alphabeti ordinem digestarum volumen. Parisiis. 1578. 8vo.

Devarius de Graecis particulis.

Matthaeus Devarius.

M. Devarii liber de Graecae Linguae particulis. (Edited by P. Devarius.) *Romae* 1588. 4to.

T. F. Dibdin notices an edition, London 1657.

(*Introd. to Editions of Greek and Latin Classics*, 1804 ed., p. 484.)

Posselii Calligraphia.

Johannes Posselius, the elder.

Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae...(*see* p. 504).

Though Hoole refers the schoolmaster to these books for the use of the class in translation from Latin to Greek, he reminds them: 'Nothing is more available to gain a good style than a frequent imitation of select pieces out of Isocrates and Demosthenes, and translating one while out of the Greek into Latin, and another while out of Latin into Greek.'

There is one other book mentioned by Hoole for the Greek of the fifth Form. This is the *Janua Linguarum Graeca*, i.e. of John Amos Comenius (translated out of Latin by Theodorus Simonius).

The method of using the *Janua* is thus described by Hoole. 'After the class has construed a chapter and analysed some harder nouns and verbs, you may let them try who can recite

the most Greek names of things and tell you the most Greek words for one Latin word, and show their derivations and differences and the rules of their several accents. And to acquaint them the better with all the Greek and Latin words comprised in that book, you may cause them at every part to write out some of the Latin index into Greek, and some of the Greek index into Latin, and to note the manner of declining nouns and verbs, as the dictionaries and lexicons will show them.'

On one day in the week the fifth Form are to transcribe one of Æsop's Fables, and sometimes one of Aelian's Histories or a chapter in Epictetus out of Greek into English, and then re-translate from English into Latin and Latin into Greek. Another day they should turn some of Mr Farnaby's *Epigrammata Selecta*[1] out of Greek into Latin and English verses, and some of Æsop's Fables or Tully's *Sentences* into Latin, and afterwards into Greek verses.

Finally, when the fifth Form has gone thrice over the Assembly's *Catechism* in Greek and Latin, they proceed in Nowell's *Catechism*[2] or the Palatinate *Catechism* in Greek.

In the sixth Form, every day the class is to translate at least twelve verses out of the Greek Testament into Latin or English, or out of the English or Latin Testament into Greek. The grammatical, rhetorical and common-place notes in the paper-books are to be examined once a week in Greek as in the other subjects.

Hoole, like Brinsley, included Hesiod in the Greek curriculum. This is to be taken twice a week. Boys are to be allowed a Latin translation and Pasor upon it or Schrevelii *Lexicon*. The schoolmaster may illustrate harder places out of Cerapine and Melanchthon's *Commentary*, published by Johannes Frisius Tigurinus, and have paraphrases made in Greek where desirable.

[1] i.e. *Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum, eorumque latino versu a variis redditorum*. Lond. 1629 and 1671. *See* p. 485.

[2] *See* p. 85.

Classical Greek Authors.

The best commentary on the list of classical authors for schoolboys of the period is perhaps that of Hoole himself, speaking of

Homerus, Pindar, Lycophron.

'When they have gone this (viz. Hesiod and his commentators) over, they may proceed in like manner to Homer, in which they may help themselves out of *Clavis Homerica*[1], or *Lexicon Homericum* or those *Quorundam verborum Themata*, at the end of *Scapulae Lexicon*. You may illustrate the difficult places in him out of Eustathius his Commentary, and let your scholars write some of his narrations in good Latine and Greek phrase. Chapman's English translation of Homer will delight your scholars to read in at leisure, and cause them better to appre hend the series of his poetical discourses. When they are well acquainted with this Father of Poetry (which will be after they have read two Books, either of his Iliads, or Odyssees), you may let them proceed to *Pindar*, and after they have tasted some of his Odes, by the help of *Benedictus* his Commentary, you may at last let them make use of *Lycophron*, which they will better do, having *Canterus* or *Zetzius* to unfold his dark meaning; and *Longolii Lexicon* to interpret and analyse most of his uncouth words.'

With regard to Chapman's Translation of Homer, in 1598 Chapman published *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere, Prince of Poets. Translated according to the Greeke in iudgment of his best commentaries* (1st, 2nd, 7th to 11th Books

[1] The Lexicons referred to are *Clavis Homerica*.

Clavis Homerica reserans significationes...derivationes...et dialectos omnium vocabulorum, quae in...libris Iliadis Homeri (necnon fere Odysseae) continentur. G. P. (?Gulielmus Perkins) 1638. 8vo. 3rd ed. 1647.

Lexicon Homericum by Louis Coulon.

Lexicon Homericum; seu, accurata vocabulorum omnium quae in Homero continentur explanatio. Parisiis 1643. 8vo.

inclusive). In 1598 followed 'Achilles' Shield' (out of the 18th book). The folio edition of the *Iliads* is not dated, but Mr Bullen (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, from which these details are taken) points out that it was not before 1609. The complete *Iliad* was entered in the *Stationers' Register* 8 April, 1611, and the *Twenty-four Bookes of Homer's Odisses by George Chapman* is dated 2 November, 1614.

Xenophon, Euripides, and Sophocles.

'Their forenoon lessons on Tuesdays and Thursdays may be in Xenophon περὶ Κυροπαιδείας for the first quarter, or somewhat longer, and afterwards in some of Euripides and Sophocles' Tragedies, which you please to pick out, to enable them for the rest; and if to these you add a few of Aristophanes' Comedies which they may better understand by the help of Bisetus upon him, I suppose, you may turn them to any other Greek author, and they will give you a reasonable account thereof, having but a little time allowed them, to deliberate upon it, and necessary subsidiaries at hand to help themselves withall, in case they be put to a stand.'

In connexion with the reading of authors the sixth Form's 'afternoon parts on Mondays and Wednesdays, may be in *Ant. de Laubegeois Breviarium Graecae Linguae*[1] partly because the perusal of that book will help them to retain all the Greek vocabula(rie)s in mind, and partly because those excellent Sentences being picked out of many authors will acquaint them with most of the hard words, that they are like to find in them.'

Once a week, the class is to read *Luciani selecti mortuorum dialogi* either in the edition put forth by Sebastian and Gabriel Cramoisy of Paris, or in the edition recently printed by Mr Dugard.

[1] Antony Laubegeois, *Graecae Linguae Epitome, seu Breviarium Gr. Lat. Duac.* 1626. 8vo.

Luciani...Dialogorum selectorum libri duo a G. Dugardo recogniti. Earliest edition in British Museum 1685. 12mo. 1709 and 1723.

Bruggemann (*View of English Editions of Ancient Greek and Latin Authors*) mentions an edition of 1655 (*Londini, A. Crook*), 1664, 1677, 1700, 1723, 1729, 1737.

The sixth Form continue the making of themes and verses in Latin and Greek.

For the rest, they will need patterns for orations in Greek, and these will be furnished by Aphthonius[1] and Libanius Sophista. For writing Greek epistles, they must consult Isocrates' *Epistles* and Symmachus.

The oration referred to by Hoole under the name of *Libanius Sophista* is that of which the following is an English edition:

Libanii Sophistae oratio de seditione Antiochena ad Theodosium M. et ad eundem Antiochenis reconciliatum Graece, in Chrysostomo Savilii. Etonae 1612, *fol.* Tom. VIII. pp. 125 and 131.

More frequently printed however were:

Epistolae Graecae. Venice 1499. *Paris* 1577. 8vo. In Latin, *Basle* 1554. 8vo. Greek and Latin, *Paris* 1576. 4to.

Besides themes, verses, orations and epistles in Greek there is still more work for the Greek scholars to do. 'They should often also vie wits amongst themselves and strive who can make the best anagrams, epigrams, epitaphs, epithalamia, eclogues, acrostics, and golden verses in English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew; which they will easily do after a while, having good patterns before them to imitate, which they may collect out of authors as they fancy them for their own use and

[1] *See* p. 422 *supra.*

delight.' At this stage, too, the boys are to read their Catechisms in Greek[1].

Thus is completed the school study of Greek. The scholar, now ready for the University, ought to provide himself[2] with all necessary *Commentaries* on all the Latin and Greek orators and poets, 'and should have Stephani *Thesaurus* (Greek and Latin), Suidas, Hesychius, Budaeus' *Commentaries* and the like, ever at hand.'

[1] As to the Greek Catechism, *see* p. 74.

[2] Hoole naïvely adds: 'Those that have purses especially.'

CHAPTER XXXII.

HEBREW.

HEBREW, it is true, was often considered a subject for the Universities, and not for schools. Brinsley and Hoole hold the view that it is a school subject. To Brinsley it appeals as a sacred subject, the principal roots are so few, and it contains matter 'which every one of us ought to be familiar with.' All we need to know of Hebrew is contained in one book, the Old Testament, and the matter of it is familiar to us. Hoole is of opinion that Hebrew is rarely attained in the Universities if the rudiments of it be not first gained in the school.

Brinsley insists that Hebrew was the only language until the 'confounding of the tongues at Babel, and therefore it is the mother of languages and all others have their origin in it.' The essentials of method in teaching it are thorough knowledge of grammar, if Hebrew is to be known thoroughly, but for reading purposes, knowledge of the principal rules must suffice. Hebrew examples must be translated accurately into Latin. As for grammar, Martinius[1] (with his *Technologia*) 'of the last Edition' is used by the learned, but for the young beginner

[1] There was an English translation by John Udall the well-known Puritan: *Key of the Holy Tongue: wherein is contained, first the Hebrew Grammar (in a manner) word for word, out of P. M. Martinius. Secondly a practize upon the first, the twentie-fift and the sixtie-eight Psalmes. Thirdly a short dictionarie, containing the Hebrew words that are found in the Bible with their proper significations. All Englished by J. Udall.* 3 pt. *Leyden.* 1593. 8°.

Second edition with the annotations of C. Ravis. *Amsterdam.* 1650. 8°.

Blebelius is much easier and nearer to the Latin grammar. It is best to use both, for Blebelius will prove a Commentary to Martinius. Next, it is desirable to get some Hebrew roots with the grammar, every day. For this, the *Nomenclator*, *Anglo-latinus-Graecus-Hebraicus*, were it finished, would be a 'notable introduction.' The *Nomenclator* not being available the *Epitomes* recommended for getting the Radices are Pagnine ('the most common') and the Abridgement of Buxtorf 'the best.' Brinsley has seen a draft of another still better but it is not yet available. But failing direct help, they could be got from a Dictionary. Thirdly, 'The perfect verbal translations written out by Arias Montanus, by conferring with Junius and our own Bible, especially our new translation[1] and setting the diverse readings in the margents with a letter, to signify whose the translations are, and also every hard Radix noted in the Margent, as now sundry of them are; with references to them by letters or figures, as I showed for the Greek; these being used as the English translations, for getting the Latin, and as the Latin or English for the Greek, will be found above all that we would imagine.' In the case of the Greek New Testament and the Hebrew Old Testament, Brinsley is willing to forego the method of grammatical translations. The scholar has had experience of these in his Latin studies. 'The verbal translations[2] for these originals, shall make the learners most cunning in the Text, and in the very order of the words of the Holy Ghost, without danger of any way depraving, corrupting or inverting one jot or tittle.'

Hoole's method for entering pupils in this 'holy' language is similar to that of Brinsley. He regards Buxtorf's *Epitome*[3] as the best early grammar. It is the grammar 'most used in schools,' and the easiest to understand. There must be plenty

[1] The Authorised Version, 1611.

[2] Such as that of Arias Montanus.

[3] 'Though some prefer Martinius, others Bellarmine, others Amoma, others Blebelius, and others *Horologium Hebraeae linguae*.'

of writing of the Hebrew Characters[1], the grammar, after being read and understood, should be known by heart. Hoole follows Brinsley's suggestion: every day a certain number of Hebrew roots (together with the grammar) should be learned from some nomenclator or lexicon. After the grammar is learned, sentences consisting of texts from Scripture must 'be construed, parsed and written fairly, by way of interlineary.' The Hebrew Psalter is to be translated into Latin and re-translated into Hebrew in a paper-book. 'Then they (the pupils) may with facility run along the Psalter, having *Tossani syllabus geminus* to help them in every word. Afterwards they may proceed in the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Job, of themselves; but be sure they be well acquainted with the rules of finding a radix in Buxtorf, or Pagnine, or the like useful *Lexicon* which are fit to be reserved in the School library.'

Hoole goes even further than Brinsley and would like to see Hebrew Composition in the school. 'Though it be found a thing very rare, and is by some adjudged to be of little use, for school-boys to make exercises in Hebrew, yet it is no small ornament and commendation to a school (as Westminster School at present can evidence) that scholars are able to make orations and verses in Hebrew, Arabic or other oriental tongues[2], to the amazement of most of their hearers, who are angry at their own ignorance, because they know not well what is then said or written. As for orations, they may be translated out of Latin into Hebrew by help of Schindleri *Pentaglotton*, *Buxtorfius*, *Pagnine*, *Crinesius*, or *Torstius* (i.e. Vorstius) *Lexicon*; and for verses, Buxtorf's *Thesaurus* will afford some rules and precedents[3], and *Aviani clavis Poeseos Sacrae* all kinds of rhythms.'

[1] The *Hebrew Alphabet* (*see* p. 168 *supra*) is apparently not mentioned by Brinsley and Hoole.

[2] *See* p. 527.

[3] Of Buxtorf there was an *English translation*:

A short introduction to the Hebrew Tongue, being a translation of the

They that are more industriously studious in the Hebrew may profit themselves very much by translating *Janua Linguarum* into that language[1].

Hoole speaks of the improvement of the 'noble spirited Mr Busby at Westminster, where the Eastern languages are now become familiar to the highest sort of scholars.'

We have seen that Brinsley refers to the new Translation of the Bible (1611). Hoole mentions the greatest achievement in England of the Commonwealth time in connexion with the Bible—Dr Brian Walton's great *Polyglott* Bible.

Early in the Renascence, in 1516, was founded the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, for study of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, after the model of the University founded by Cardinal Ximenes at Alcala.

The Injunctions of 1535 at Cambridge led to the institution of a lectureship in Hebrew, and in 1540 a Regius Professorship in Hebrew was established.

The actual amount of Hebrew learned in schools is not likely to have been large. Mr Mullinger shows[2] that at the beginning of the 17th century at the Universities Hebrew was, as he says, 'at a very low ebb.' Nevertheless, it was held in the highest estimation. He quotes 'the most distinguished pulpit orator' of the beginning of the 17th century, Thomas Playfere, who declared that unless a man could understand well the Hebrew of the Scriptures 'he is compted but a maimed, or as it were but half a divine especially in this learned age.' On the other hand, it must be remembered that when the Authorised Version of the Bible was undertaken in 1607, Hebrew scholars were forthcoming like Lancelot

learned John Buxtorfius's Epitome of his Hebrew Grammar...by John Davis. Whereunto is annexed an English interlineall interpretation of some Hebrew texts of the Psalmes, etc. London, 1656. 8vo. There was an earlier translation by N. Gray, 1627.

[1] Hoole also recommends the use of the Catechism translated into Hebrew. *Catechismus parvus Hebraicus.*

[2] *History of the Univ. of Cambridge*, II. p. 416 et seqq.

Andrewes, Dean Overall, à Saravia, Lively, Duport, Downes and Bois[1], not to mention all the thirty-two, who worked at the translation of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha.

The translation itself also caused a strong interest in the 'holy tongues,' and Hoole's treatment of the subject marks a distinct advance on Brinsley, which represents in the school what had taken place in the academic position of the subject. The elementary text-book called the *Hebrew Alphabet*[2] shows that the schools early in the Northern Renascence took up the subject. Richard Mulcaster, whilst still at Oxford, in 1555 was spoken of by Broughton, as 'one of the best Hebrew scholars of the age.' Though there is no evidence that he taught Hebrew at Merchant Taylors' and St Paul's, both these schools, later on, included some training on the subject. Thus Edward Bernard, described as the 'most learned astronomer, linguist and critic of the 17th century[3],' went from Merchant Taylors' School, very conversant in the classics and 'not unacquainted with Hebrew.' Professor Mayor gives instances of students entering the University already knowing Hebrew[4]. In Matthew Poole's *Model for maintaining students at the University in order to the Ministry*, 1648, the scholars were to study to be eminent in Latin, Greek and Hebrew[5], and a special student is to be chosen to specialise in Jewish and Rabbinical learning. Milton expected that Hebrew 'should be gained' so far as to read the Scriptures in the original[6], and it has already been noticed[7] that John Bois was able, between five and six years

[1] For account of Bois, *see* p. 499. Duport, Downes and Bois worked on the translation of the Apocrypha. It is obvious that many of the translators were well skilled in both Greek and Hebrew.

[2] *See* p. 168 *supra*.

[3] Wilson, *M. T. School*, p. 796. As to St Paul's *see* next page.

[4] *Life of M. Robinson*, pp. 17 n., 96 and 97.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 175.

[6] Milton adds: 'Whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldic and the Syriac dialect.'

[7] *See* p. 500.

of age, to write the Hebrew characters elegantly and to read the Hebrew Bible. It may be stated that Laud's Statutes, 1636, required the lectures of the Regius Professor of Hebrew to be attended by all Bachelors of Arts.

The following statutes of schools of the period deal with the subject:

Heath Grammar School, c. 1600.

At the Heath Grammar School the Master by Statute was required to teach the boys Hebrew Grammar.

East Retford Grammar School.

1552. Form IV Boys were to learn Hebrew Grammar.

Westminster School.

In early days, c. 1560 onwards, Hebrew Grammar in seventh form with a lesson from the Psalter in both Greek and Hebrew. Busby's own Grammar 'multiplied in MSS. and not published till 1708' was the text-book. The book seems to have remained in use until Hebrew died out about the middle of the last century (i.e. the 19th century)[1]. Busby's *Hebrew Grammar*, though unprinted, was transcribed for use in the school.

Newport Grammar School (*Essex*).

1589. Dr Legge's Orders for the Government of the School required Hebrew to be taught, together with Latin and Greek.

1635. Hebrew was intended to be part of the curriculum in the projected *Museum Minervae* of Sir Francis Kynaston.

Strype, writing after the Great Fire of London, speaks of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and sometimes another oriental language as being taught at Westminster, and at the same school Pepys heard the head Forms posed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

Hebrew was taught by Langley when High-master of St Paul's School, 1640–1657.

[1] *See* Sargeaunt, p. 116.

CONCLUSION.

THE Grammar School system in the 16th and 17th centuries entered deeply into the national thought and life. This sounds paradoxical, because the ordinary conception of the old schools is that they attempted to impress, *ab extra*, the classical stamp on a country alien to and isolated from the Latin races. The classical tradition is accepted as natural enough for Italy, France and Spain, but it is assumed that England was repugnant in its tendencies to classicism and that scholars by some extraordinary despotic magnetism, established an ascendancy of classicism, to the retardation of national educational progress, and against the national genius and aspirations of the people at large. It is necessary to insist upon the evidence that this was not the case.

Inquiry into statistics of 300 or 400 years ago cannot be made with the exactitude in detail, which might be desired, but in the question of the people's schools, the general tendencies are clear. Education of the classical type supplied in Grammar Schools was popular. Mr Leach has given good reasons for thinking[1] that at the time of the Reformation, to take two counties, Herefordshire with an estimated population of 30,000 had 17 Grammar Schools, and Essex with an estimated population of 11,000 had 16 Grammar Schools (it may be added that Miss Fell Smith puts the number at 19). The number of schools in the latter county in the 16th and 17th

[1] *See* section on 'Numbers attending Grammar Schools' in *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 97–103.

centuries was still greater. For the Admission Registers of St John's College, Cambridge, and Gonville and Caius College show that in these two Colleges students were entered from private schools[1] in Essex established at little known places such as Bumpstead, Sampford, Moreton, Heydon, Chishull, Mareshall, Horkesley, Stanstead, Foxworth, Ramsey, Hulton.

The 'private Grammar School' had the same type of classical education as the public school. The differentiation of curriculum of the private and public schools took place at a later date. Such facts show that higher education of the Grammar School type was far more widespread than has been supposed. In the investigation into other counties[2], this popularity of Grammar School education is confirmed.

The types of parents who sent their boys to the local Grammar School may be seen by an analysis of the list of Colchester Grammar School in 1643. In the list 177 boys, altogether, entered the school in the five years preceding 1643, a large proportion were sons of gentlemen or clergy together with tradespeople's children, viz. tanners, grocers, tailors, linen-drapers, an ironmonger, a goldsmith, a dyer and a chemist.

We must therefore suppose that the curriculum was sufficiently in unison with the social, religious and national life to attract the children of the middle classes, higher and lower, in the towns, and that boys from the country districts[3] were attracted into town Grammar Schools. The ground of the attraction was not in the classical education as such, but in the religious element in the school constitution, which received its emphasis and support from instruction in 'the holy languages,'

[1] Chapter on 'Schools' in *Vict. County Hist. of Essex*, by Miss Fell Smith.

[2] *See* the Chapters on 'Schools' in the *Victoria County Histories*, mainly contributed by Mr A. F. Leach.

[3] From an analysis of a register of boys at Bury St Edmunds in 1656 it appears that there were at that date 26 town-boys and 60 country-boys in the school (F. W. Donaldson).

Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which had so close a connexion either directly or indirectly with the Sacred Scriptures.

The fact is that a close study of the school work in curriculum and methods of teaching in the Tudor and Stuart periods eventually brings the thoughtful student to a consideration of the intellectual, literary, social[1], political and religious environment.

Each of these aspects is to be found reflected in the school text-books to a surprising degree. The intellectual atmosphere of the University, of course, permeated the schools, as it always does, when the University-trained teacher forms a considerable part of the teaching-staff of the community, though ideas gathered in the University are continued often enough in a stereotyped form throughout the teaching life of the schoolmaster, and usually come to represent the University of a previous generation. But, besides this tendency, the general influence of personalities and ideas takes the school into its grip unconsciously. The name of Erasmus and the chief ideas for which he stood fascinated the writers of text-books, and we find that schoolmasters like John Clarke of Lincoln Grammar School derived the form and material of their text-books from Erasmus, generations after his death. Literary influences in the community at large may take time to reach the school, but the school curriculum and text-books often receive the impress surely and unmistakably. Take, for instance, one of the outstanding features of the age of Elizabeth in literature, viz. the abundance of translations into English of the classics from Chapman's *Homer* downwards throughout the range of the more obvious classical writers. So marked is the literary influence of translations, that we find Brinsley and his successors insisting on a method of

[1] The most notable exception is in the subject of Music, but it may be remarked that there is a corresponding decadence in the Puritanic view of the place of Music in the services of the Church. Music thus tended, in the Puritan period, to pass from public institutional culture to domestic and voluntary practice. (*See* Chap. XII.)

employment of translations of school authors, as the right way of preparing the pupil for facility of construing higher authors, when the pupil can swim without cork. The inter-relation between the national drama and the school-play, which formed a noteworthy feature of the 16th and 17th century school, has been pointed out. The social influences of the period can be directly traced in the text-books on the teaching of Manners and Morals. Even the direct inculcation of politics may be exemplified by a remarkable book called *God and the King*[1]. This work was actually required by authority of the Privy Council to be taught in the Scotch schools. Milton's *Tractate* shows that law and constitutional questions were considered suitable for the school[2], and there are other indications that the period of the Civil War brought the schools into definite teaching relations, on the side of the one party or the other, in regard to national policy. Illustrations could be brought together from the school text-books, particularly the phrase-books and treasuries of common-place topics, bringing plentiful material for comparison between England and foreign countries. in intellectual, literary, social and political aspects. The subject-matter of the Latin-instruction, therefore, was often in direct relation with the environment of current, or previous national and even international thought[3]. If these direct relations can be discovered it is the less necessary to attempt the longer task of showing that the indirect efforts of national life and culture can be found reflected in the school text-books to a degree which might have been unsuspected.

[1] Or, *A Dialogue shewing that our Soueraigne Lord King James, being immediate under God within his Dominions, Doth rightfully claime whatsoever is required by the Oath of Allegiance. London: Imprinted by his Majesties speciall priviledge and command.* 1615.

[2] Milton in the *Tractate* (1644) requires a knowledge of 'the Saxon and Common Laws of England and the Statutes.' In the Statutes of E. Retford Grammar School (1552) the *Institutes* of Justinian were ordered to be taught.

[3] *See* Note on 'The Origins of the Teaching of Modern Subjects,' p. 453 *supra*.

There remains to be emphasised the most important of all the Zeit-geist influences of the 16th and 17th centuries, that of Religion. It is often supposed that the schools founded in the Renascence times, and later under the post-Renascence impulse, were predominantly permeated with classical aims. The Italian Renascence was not specifically or essentially connected with any other aim than the Revival of Letters. But it is an unwarranted conclusion to suppose that the same statement may be applied to the English Grammar Schools, founded in the period immediately following on the Renascence, and still less in the latter part of the 16th and the whole of the 17th centuries. The English Grammar Schools were, indeed, classical in aim. The curriculum and text-books dealt with classical authors, Latin and Greek speech, Latin and Greek composition. Nevertheless, the main stimulus, the outstanding motive of the whole English Grammar School system, seen in the Statutes of Foundation, both in the curriculum and in the text-books employed, is distinctly religious.

The Renascence Grammar Schools in England may be said to be those founded between 1509 (Colet's St Paul's School) and 1559 (the accession of Queen Elizabeth). The key-note of these schools is struck in Dean Colet's Statutes, dated 1518, when he says: 'My intent is by this school specially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and Our Lord Christ Jesus, and good Christian life and manners in the children.' It is true that a writer on education speaks of 'the reading of Isocrates, Demosthenes, and the most reverend author and orator Christ Jesus, with the apostles[1].' This introduces the reverential Northern Renascence spirit. But he adds, with regard to the last-named 'orators,' 'whose writings I allow ever first and last.' It is doubtful whether any statutes of

[1] Laurence Humfrey: *The Nobles*, 1563. Thomas Lupset (1529) similarly joins together Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca with the New Testament, St Chrysostom and St Jerome, but his treatise is a plea for regarding first 'that which is first.'

a school could be produced in the period 1518–1559 which do not explicitly name some aspect of religion as the cause which led the founder to establish his school.

Nevertheless still more emphatic is the religious motive in the establishment and conduct of schools in the later period 1559–1660. This is the period of the Puritan influence on the schools. The return of the Protestant exiles to England from Strassburg, Frankfurt, and Geneva, after their flight to escape the Marian Persecution, brought into England the keenest desire to educate the children of this country in the tenets of Protestantism and to arouse the fiercest aversion against and even terror of the Roman Catholic *régime*.

The influence of Puritanism upon education was epoch-making. With regard to its modification of classical aims in schools, it had two typical effects. In one direction, it led to what may be described as Educational Scepticism. It denied the usefulness of classical studies. Terence was only seen as a poet 'both nipping in taunts and wanton in talk.' By the time of Comenius this feeling had so intensified that that great educational reformer declined to countenance the reading of classical authors in schools, and required that fresh material should be forthcoming for school books. But this is no isolated opinion. During the Commonwealth period it was the conviction of a considerable number of the writers that the Classics were in conflict with the aims of a Christian school. William Dell, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (in the time of Cromwell), said: 'My counsel is that they (children) learn the Greek and Latin tongues especially from Christians, and so without the lies, fables, follies, vanities, whoredoms, lust, pride, revenge, etc., of the heathens, especially seeing neither their words nor their phrases are meet for Christians to take in their mouth; and most necessary it is, that Christians should forget the names of their gods and muses, which were but devils and damned creatures, and all their mythology and fabulous inventions and let them all go to Satan from whence they came.'

The protest against current classical school practice was grounded on the inclusion of authors or at least passages in their works which should not have found their way into school books, but the result was that many Puritans came to regard the classics, as a whole, as forbidden fruit, and to advocate a school curriculum (whether Latin or otherwise) which should exclude their study.

But cultured Puritans ordinarily looked in another direction for the remedy, viz. the recognition in the schools, that religion was the main aim of all teaching, and that the classics were helpful in the attainment of this aim. This was the current view which the schools adopted, seen in the light of the contents of text-books. Direct religious instruction in the schools was given, in various forms and degrees, in the Bible, the Catechism, the Primer, occasionally in books of devotion, and theological manuals. But the effect is best typified in the general theory that Latin, Greek and Hebrew were the 'holy' languages, which especially enabled the pupil to get a closer acquaintance with the Bible, and with the earlier times of the Christian Church. Latin and Greek New Testaments were commonly the first text-books in the reading of the 'holy tongues.' Even text-books were written to convert the classical heathen stories into terms of the Christian faith, and in many other school-books, condescending allowances were made for the disadvantages of the Romans and Greeks in their ignorance of the Christian religion, whilst pupils were duly enjoined to remember their own responsibility in living in an age in which religion had illuminated their life and transcended the possibilities of the authors whom they had to read for the sake of their language and style.

Apart from classical text-books, subjects of a distinctively secular kind received the sanction of a religious basis, or aim. The religious atmosphere sometimes permeated even the method of teaching as well as the material of instruction.

Take the subject of spelling. Thomas Lye, in the 17th century, compiled *A New Spelling Book; Or Reading and Spelling English made Easie. Wherein all the words of our*

English Bible are set down in an alphabetical order and divided into distinct syllables[1]. This reached at any rate a fourth edition (Hazlitt's Bibliographical Collections, Series II). Copy-book headings, of course, in this period often concerned themselves with Scriptural texts[2].

So, too, with teaching Latin: In 1675 Elisha Coles published two books:

1. *Nolens Volens; or you shall make Latin whether you will or no....Together with the Youth's Visible Bible being an alphabetical collection (from the whole Bible) of such general heads (i.e. subjects) as were judged most capable of hieroglyphics (i.e. copper-plates).*

2. *Syncrisis, or the most natural and easie method of learning Latin by comparing it with English. Together with the holy History of Scripture Wars (i.e. in Latin and English).*

Even Natural Philosophy in the treatment of Comenius becomes *Natural Philosophie reformed by Divine Light* (English translation in 1651)[3].

[1] I also find in an advertisement in S. Boncle's *Vestibulum Technicum* (1701), *Reading made Easie; or a Necessary Preparative to the Psalter. By Wm Bowksley.*

[2] George Shelley, in the first half of the 18th century, published *A Select and Curious Collection of Copies of all Sorts put into Alphabetical Order for the use of Writing-Schools.* A good choice is offered of lines beginning with each letter of the Alphabet from 'Scripture.' Shelley however further gives copious passages in prose, in verse, single lines, Latin sentences and Proverbial sentences.

[3] Full title: *Naturall Philosophie Reformed by Divine Light: Or, A Synopsis of Physicks: By J. A. Comenius: Exposed to the censure of those that are Lovers of Learning, and desire to be taught of God. Being a view of the World in generall, and of the particular Creatures therein contained: grounded upon Scripture Principles with a briefe Appendix touching the Diseases of the Body, Mind, and Soul. By the same Author. London. Printed by Robert and William Leybourn, for Thomas Pierrepont, at the Sun in Paul's Churchyard, MDCLI.* I may add here that there was a book published with the following title: *Christian Geography and Arithmetic, or a True Survey of the World; together with the Art of numbering our days. By T. Hardcastle, of Bristol.* 1674.

The general reputation of Rhetoric as a subject of instruction was not likely to be overlooked by the 17th century writers, even when their first aim was the inculcation of religion. Accordingly we find a series of Rhetorics specially devoted to the elucidation of Bible-Rhetoric, if we may so call it.

This could be illustrated by the *Rhetorics* of Rainolde (1584), Thomas Hall (1654), and John Prideaux (1659)[1].

But the evidence of the unique position of the religious influence within the school walls does not rest on isolated instances. It permeates the text-books and writings of educationists so as to be of their very spirit[2]. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that of all the external national influences reflected in the school, intellectual, literary, social, political, religious—religion of the Calvinistic mould of thought, was the most direct, the most immediate in its transference into educational practice in the period 1559–1660.

The ecclesiastical organisation of schools in the Middle Ages proceeded in a line of continuity, through the Tudor and Stuart periods. It lost some of its solidarity, as is shown by the beginnings of private schools such as those of Farnaby and Hoole. But with regard to the subjects taught and the spirit of teaching, the classical impulse of the Renascence monopolised neither the public nor the private Grammar Schools. A study of the curriculum and the school text-books of the 16th and

[1] *See* p. 450.

[2] The infusion of religious trends of treatment in 'secular' subjects perhaps is the strongest proof of the religious motive of the school-work. The reader, however, will bear in mind that this indirect insistence on the religious aspect was supplementary to the direct instruction described in Chapters II, III, IV, VI. Individual teachers went further and expounded 'bodies of Divinity' or Theology. Thus Edward Phillips describes the school of his uncle, the great John Milton. Phillips refers to the years 1639–1646. Milton, we are told, dictated notes from compendia of Theology. One of the books he used was by John Wollebius, Professor at Basle. This was translated into English in 1650, by Alexander Ross, under the title: *Christian Divinity: The Chain of Salvation.*

17th centuries, shows that the English Grammar Schools gained much of their vitality and inspiration from the national life, in its most intense manifestation in Puritanism.

The unity and continuity of Grammar School practice in the 16th and 17th centuries are therefore to be sought in the twofold aims of classicism and religious training. In the later part of the period 1559–1660, the frequent, if not general triumph of Calvinistic Puritanism, caused classicism to be regarded, not as an end in itself, but as subservient and helpful to religion, which was essentially the first motive in the school as in the nation.

The mediaeval schools and the Grammar Schools up to 1660 were similarly permeated with the religious aims, but the later schools had incorporated the subject-matter of the Revival of Learning, turning it largely into the service, or at least into the adornment, of the changed national religious convictions.

INDEX.

A B C, on bell, 153; various editions of, 161–72; licensing of, 164; 16th century, 168; in school statutes, 169
Academie of Eloquence (Blount), 443 *n.*
Acolastus (Fullonius), 319–20
Adagia (Erasmus), 28, 51 *n.*, 425
Aelian's Histories, 519
Æsop's Fables, 300, 302, 519
Agricola, Rodolph, 451
à Kempis, Thomas (Hämmerlein), 303–4
Alciat, 456
Alcuin, 142
Algebra, differentiated from arithmetic, 2
Alleyn, Edward, 192–3
Alphabet, the Greek, 168; the Hebrew, *ibid.*
Alvearie, An (Baret), 390
Andrewes, Lancelot, 497–8, 528
Anthology, the Greek, 483
Aphthonius (of Antioch), 422 *n.*, 430
Arias Montanus, 507
Ascensius, Judocus Badius, 27
Ascham, Roger, 16, 99; on music, 209–10; educational methods compared with Brinsley's, 362–7; double translation, 407
Ashton, Thomas, 333, 500
Assembly's *Catechism*, 64, 302
Augustine, St, *Soliloquies*, 64, 300, 304

Babees Boke, 98
Bales, Peter, 200–1
Balguay, Nicholas, 498
Baret, John, quoted, 390–1
Baxter, Richard, 72, 117
Beza, 56, 342
Bible, the, teaching of, 50–68; first official recognition of, 52; various editions of New Testament, 62
Bible, the great *Polyglott* (Walton), 527
Billingsley, Henry, 2
Billingsley, Martin, 200
Bird, William, 220–1
Bishop's Book, the, *see Institution of a Christian Man*
Blundevile, Thomas, introduces trigonometry into England, 2
Boethius, 1
Bois, John, 499–500, 528
Bond, John, 360
Book of Common Prayer, the, 30
Book of Hours, *see Horae*
Bridges, Noah, *Stenographie*, 67
Briggs, Henry, 2
Brinsley, John, views on religious instruction, 67; on teaching methods, 157, 277, 360; compared with Ascham's, 362–7; compared with Hoole's, 368, 513, 527
Brookbank, John, 270–1
Buchanan (George), version of Psalms, 63
Bugenhagen, 56
Bullinger, 76
Bulwer, John, 451
Busbaei Graecae Grammaticae Rudimenta, etc. (Busby), 513–4
Busby, Dr, 158, 269, 361, 497, 513, 527
Butler, Charles, 212–3
Buxtorf, John, 525, 526–7 *n.*

Calepio, Ambrose, 387
Calvin's *Catechism*, 76; teaching, 342–3

Cambridge, Observations on the Statutes of the University of (Peacock), 222 *n.*, 308
Cambridge, Privileges of University of (Dyer), 227 *n.*
Camden, William, 278, 497, 513–4
Carew, Richard, on grammar learning, 282
Cassiodorus, 1
Castellion, Sébastien, 57, 302, 328 *n.*, 338–9
Castiglione, 87, 103–4
Catechism, The, 69–85
Cato, Distichs, 121, 301
Cento, 374, 480 *n.*
Chantry priest, educational function of, 142, 148–9
Charlemagne, enthusiasm for education, 10–11 *n.*
Chatillon, *see* Castellion
Church attendance required by statute, 45–9
Cicero, 7, 228; *Epistles*, 315, 319, 357, 371, 414
Clarke, John, 109, 269, 416, 454, 461, 465, 532
Classics, the, humanistic method of teaching, 7–8
Clenard, 487, 513–4
Clerics, course of education of, 15
Cocker, Edward, 201
Colet, Dean, 22, 30; *Aeditio* of, 243; statutes of, 360 *sqq.*; school authors of, 373–4
Colet, Life of (Knight), 72, 249, 377 *n.*
Colloquies, various, 325; history of, 328; as method of teaching Latin, 346
Comenius, 117; excursus on the teaching of grammar, 289 *sqq.*
Compleat Gentleman (Peacham), 280
Conduct, statutes *re* school boys', 132–6
Construing, rule of, 350–6; preparatives to, 361–2
Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, 18
Cooper, Thomas, 242, 389
Coote, Edmund, 77, 108, 149, 154, 156, 158, 175, 177, 393
Cordier, Maturin (Maturinus Corderius), 56, 108, 301, 311, 337–8
Courtesy, Italian Books of, 103
Courtier, the (Castiglione), 86, 103–4
Cox, Leonard, 447
Cox, Dr Richard, 241
Credal instruction, 29

Danes, John, 268, 274
Day, Angel, 416
Deaf and dumb, education of, 451
de Anima (Vives), 451
De Beau Chesney, John, 187
de Copia, the (Erasmus), 437–9
Dell, William, 59
Della Casa, *Galateo*, 122
Dialectic, 1; supremacy of, 3
Dictionaries, *see* Text Books
Digges, Leonard, 2
Dir[i]ge, the, 33
Disputation, methods of, 5, 91; required by school statutes, 92–5; Lewes on the art of, 97; in Universities, 97
Downes, Andrew, 500
Dugard, William, his *Lexicon Graeci Testamenti*, 63; *Elementa Rhetorices*, 442
Dury, John, 90
Duties, of Domesticall (Gouge), 114

Eberhard of Bethune, 3, 307
Eclogues (Mantuan), 375
Education, first general charter of, 10; chivalric differentiated from ecclesiastical, 21
Education of Children (Kemp), 90
Education, Thoughts on (Locke), 283–4
Education, Tractate of (Milton), 218
Elementarie (Mulcaster), 159–60
Elementary teaching in 16th and 17th centuries, 176–7; Brinsley's suggested course of, 180
Elyot, Sir Thomas, 4, 50, 262, 305, 388, 469, 489
English Academy, 87
English composition, 139
English Schoolmaster (Coote), 108; defence of Authorised Grammar, 277

English Schools at the Reformation (Leach), 12, 22, 137
Epigrammata Selecta (Farnaby), 519
Epigrams (Owen's), 482
Epistolae (Cicero), in phrase books, 315
Erasmus, and the Bible, 51–2; his *Catechism*, 72; on the art of instructing children, 105–6; *Colloquia*, 329–30; and the text-book makers, 532
Eton, History of (Lyte), 30 *n.*, 34
Eton Latin Grammar, 259
Euripides, 521
Everardt, Job, 67
Examination of Academies, 89
Examination of Complaints, 16
Exercitatio (Vives), 331
Exhortation to Young Men (Lupset), 50

Family Instructor, the (Defoe), 117 *n.*
Farnaby, Thomas, 7, 23, 200, 274, 360–1, 443, 477, 519
Fenner, Dudley, 89
Fox, John, 241
Fraunce, Abraham, 88, 448

Galfridus Grammaticus, 229–30
Garlande, John de, 381–2
Gascoigne, George (*Glasse of Government*), 485
Geneva, refugees at, 25, 75
Gerard, *Meditations*, 64, 300
Gilbert, Sir H., 87
God and the King, 533
Gouvernour, the (Elyot), 50, 262–3
Grammar, 1; importance of, 3; War, 4, 276; question involved in, 284 *sqq.*; in the Universities, 222–6; plethora of texts-books, 244; teaching, Colet's views on, 246 *sqq.*; Vives' views on, 262; Elyot's views on, 262–3; Renascence view of function of, 261 *sqq.*; forbidden to be taught in Colleges, 264–5; Comenius on, 282, 289; Hoole's method, 283, 298–9; Woodward's views on, 291–2; effect of Realism on, 291–2; Brinsley's method, 293
Grammarians, the Magdalen College School group of, 235, 240–2
Grammar Schools, in the national life, 530 *sqq.*
Grammars, Stanbridge's, 237; Whittinton's, 239; diversity of, 281; Greek, 497
Granger, Thomas, 89, 267–8
Greek Anthology, the, 483–4
Greek New Testament, 62; catechisms, 74, 523; enjoined by statutes, 487 *sqq.*; teaching of 16th century, 487 *sqq.*; difficulty of introducing, 488; text-books for the teaching of, 497 *sqq.*; examinations in, 499; Brinsley's method, 502–7; Hoole's method, 502, 507; text-books for teaching, 513 *sqq.*; Grammars, Hoole's list, 513, 515; Oratory, 515–6, 522; dictionaries, 517–8; Hoole's remarks on, 518–9; classical authors, 520 *sqq.*
Gregory, Francis, 509
Gresham Lecturers, 2

Haine, William, 296
Hall, Thomas, 358
Handwriting, the History of English (Maunde Thompson), 201 *n.*
Harmar, John, 269
Harriot, Thomas, 2
Harvey, William, 312
Hawkins, Francis, 112
Hayne, Thomas, 253, 268
Hebrew and girls, 62; 524 *sqq.*; text-books, 524–5; the study of, 525; Brinsley's method, 524–6; Hoole's method, 525–8; lectureship instituted at Cambridge, 527; Mullinger on, 527; the progress of, 527; in school statutes, 529
Hegendorffinus, 327–8
Hellenolexia (Vechner), 513
Helvicus, Christopher, 303
Hesiod, 519
Hilsey, Bishop, 33
Hodder, James, 199
Holt, John, 253
Homer, 520; Chapman's, 520–1, 532
Hoole, Charles, 5, 7, 23; books for children suggested by him, 64;

his position as to religious teaching, 64–6; Latin Grammars, 271–2; on Terence, 315–6; on Greek text-books, 513
Horae, 28, 31–2
Horman, William, 142, 238, 402–3
Horn-Book, History of the (Tuer), 169
Horn-books as text-books, 171–2
Hornby, Dr, 259
Horne, Thomas, 7, 477
Humfrey (Laurence), 61 *n.*, 86, 534 n.
Hymnorum Expositio, 27

Institution of a Christian Man, 29, 52
Isidorus of Seville, 1
Isocrates, 515

Janua Linguarum (Comenius), 289; aim of, 291; Hoole's method of using, 518–9
Janua Linguarum (Jesuits), 112
Jesuits (Rhetoric), 452–3
Johnson, Christopher, 470
Johnson, Richard, 280

Kemp, William, 36, 90, 212
Kempis, Thomas à, 303
King's Book, the, *see Necessary Doctrine*, etc.

Lactantius, 374
Languages, Teaching of, in Schools (Widgery), 285 *n.*
Latin, as standard language, 5, 6, 305, 310–12; use of, in mediaeval elementary schools, 139–41; barbarisms in, 325–6
Latin-speaking, colonies, 312–3; school statutes for, 316–8
Latin teaching, change from oral to written method, 186; Colet's method, 246; Locke's method, 283–4; books suggested by Hoole for, 300–4; Brinsley's method, 408–9; school statutes for "the making of Latins," 411–2
Lawyer's Logic (Fraunce), 88
Leach, A. F., 11–13, 86, 306, 437, 470 *n.*, 495, 531 *n.*
Leech, John, 267
Letters, the Origin and Progress of (Massey), 201
Letter-writing, 413 *sqq.*; text-books on, 414; Hoole's method, 415; the training of secretaries, 417–8; model letters, 419; required by school statutes, 420–1
Lily, William, the *Grammar*, 242 *sqq.*; as Greek scholar, 487
Literature, the study of humanistic, 4; Roman and Greek, 5–6
Lloyd, Richard, 183, 275
Logic, the teaching of, 86 *sqq.*; Aristotle's, 88; Ramus introduced at Universities, 88; Webster's views on, 89; Milton's, 89–90; Kemp's, 90–1; *see* also Disputations
London, William, 77, 84
Lubinus, Eilhardus, protest against grammar-teaching, 281–2; Latin Colonies, 312–3
Ludus Literarius (Brinsley), 36 *n.*; method of teaching Bible, 59, 67; on disputation, 95; on spelling, 179; on writing, 193–8; cp. Hoole, 198 *sqq.*; on translation of the Grammar, 265, 292
Luther, Translation of New Testament, 56
Lycophron, 520
Lyte, Maxwell (*History of Eton*), 30 *n.*

Magdalen College (Oxford) and Grammar, 235 *sqq.*
Malim, *Consuetudines*, 471, 495
Mancinus, 120–1, 403–6
Manners and Meals in Olden Time (Furnivall), 14 *n.*
Manners and morals, training of nobles, 98 *sqq.*; treatises on, 100 *sqq.*; puritanic influence on, 108; Comenius's method of teaching, 117–8, 120; text-books on, 120–3; bibliography of published works up to 1660, 123–6; statutes relating to, 126–30, 132–6
Mantuanus, Baptista, fame of, 302–3; Eclogues of, 375–7
Martianus Capella, 1

Martindale, Adam, 62, 181–2, 345, 486
Martyrs, Book of (Foxe's), 55
Massebieau, on Colloquies, 325
Maunsell, Andrew, 77, 83
Melanchthon, 7, 56, 323, 519
Merton College, importance of statutes, 222
Milton, John, 61 *n.*, 89, 115, 218, 275
Monopoly in Lily's *Grammar*, 257
Montaigne, 305
Moral education, principles of, before the Restoration, 120
Morals, influence of Universities on, 113
Morals and religious teaching differentiated by Comenius, 118
More, Sir Thomas, and Primers, 33, 99
Mosellanus, Peter, 327
Motta, Peter, 331–2
Mulcaster, Richard, 102, 138; on writing, 188, 276; as Hebrew scholar, 528
Music, the teaching of, 206 *sqq.*; Elizabethan, 209; Mulcaster on, 211; and grammar, 213; in Dulwich College, 215; in the schools, 217; during the Commonwealth, 219

Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England, A, 29–30
Neckham, Alexander, 380–1
New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School (Hoole), quoted, 36, 60, 63, 163–4, 198–9, 298–9, 414
Nizolius, 387
Nolens Volens; or you shall make Latin whether you will or no... (Elisha Coles), 537
Nowell, Alexander, 71; *Catechism*, 519

Old Service Books of the English Church (Wordsworth and Littlehales), 27 *n.*, 32 *n.*, 37
Oration, the school, 454 *sqq.*; required by statutes, 463–5; Clarke's list of subjects for, 465–6
Orator Extemporaneus (Radau), 445
Orbis Pictus, 291, 299
Orthotonia (Franklin), 513
Oughtred, William, 2
Owen, John, 482

Paedalogia (Mosellanus), 327–9
Pagit, Eusebius, 59, 65
Palingenius, in English schools, 378–9
Palsgrave, John, 319–21
Parish Clerk, 153
Pathway to Scripture, 33
Peacham, Henry, his teaching methods, 280
Pearson, Dr John, 259
Peckham, the Constitutions of, 29
Pen's Excellency, etc., *the* (Billingsley), 201
Pen's Triumph, the (Billingsley), 201
Pentateuchs (Tyndale), 33
Perkins, Wm, *Six Principles*, 64, 300
Perottus, his definition of grammar, 262
Peters, Hugh, 77
Petty School (Hoole), 112
Pindar, 520
Play-reading and acting in schools, 318 *sqq.*
Plays, foreign, used in English schools, 322–4; boy players, 324
Ploughman's Prayer, 33
Poole, Matthew, 528
Positions (Mulcaster), 15; on reading, 175
Poynet, John, 71
Prayers, School Statutes enjoining, 38–45
Primer, the early, 32; Royal Injunctions concerning, 34–5; suppression of, 36; origin of, 37
Private Prayers, put forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (ed. Rev. W. K. Clay), 57
Proba, Faltonia, 374–5

Progymnasmata (Aphthonius), 429–30
Prompting, 410 *n.*
Prosae, collections of, 27 *n.*
Puritanism and the Grammar Schools, 535

Quadrivium, the, 1; expansion of, 2–4
Quarles, Francis, 481
Quintilian, 4, 6, 515

Ramsey, Dame, 192
Ramus, *Rhetoric*, 449
Reading, influence of the Protestant Reformation on the teaching of, 173 *sqq.*; Mulcaster's method, 174–5, 181; Hoole's method, 182–3; Lloyd's method, 183–4; Christ's Hospital School and, 185
Recorde, Robert, 2
Reformed Pastor (Baxter), 117
Reformed School, 90 *n.*
Religious and social influences, 533 *sqq.*
Religious instruction, 1600–60, 63–6; *see* also Text-books
Renascence, educational views of, 50–1
Reyner, Edward, 116
Rhetoric, 1; high repute of, 3–4; text-books for, 441–7; the teaching of, Hoole on, 442; Jesuit method, 452–3; Ramus, 449; developments of, 451–2
Rhetorics published in England, 447–52
Rhodes, Hugh, 100
Ritwyse, John, 323
Robertson, Thomas, 241–2
Robotham, John, 289–90
Ross, Alexander, 480

Samson, Abbott, 13
Sarum Missal, Sequences from the (C. B. Pearson), 27 *n.*
Savile, Sir Henry, 495
Savilian Professors, the, 2
Scapula, John, 512
Scholemaster (Ascham), 4, 50; on the written exercise, 186; on grammar teaching, 263–4
Schonaeus, Cornelius, 322
Schoole-masters Auxiliaries, etc. (Lloyd), 183
Schools, Chantry, foundation of, 11–3; ecclesiastical organisation of, 12–24; writing, 137; reading, 138–9, 142; in Middle Ages, 140–2; song, importance of, 142–7; sermon addressed to, 144; dame, 158; at Geneva, aims of, 342–3
Secretarie, The English, 416
Sequentiarum Expositio, 26
Shelton, Thomas, *Zeiglographia*, 67
Sherry, Richard, 242, 447
Shirley, James, 270, 504
Shorthand, 67–8
Simonius, Theodorus, 518
Snell, George, 113
Song Schools, 144 *sqq.*
Sophocles, 531
Spagnuoli, Baptist, *see* Mantuanus
Speaking of Latin, 305 *sqq.*
Spelling, A New Book (Thomas Lye), 536–7
Spoudeus, on methods of teaching, 293, 295
Stanbridge, John, 231; became rector, 235
Stanbridge's *Vocabula*, 385–7
Stephanus, Henry, 388
Stephanus, Robert, 311, 321, 387
Stockwood, John, 96, 266–7
Students' Church History (Perry), 33
Sturm, 56
Sylvius, Aeneas, 261–2
Syms, C., 273–4
Syncrisis, or the most natural and easie method of learning Latin by comparing it with English (Elisha Coles), 537

Talaeus, 109
Teaching, Some Improvements to the Art of (Walker), 159 *n.*
Teaching, oral methods of, 308, 326
Terence, 7; the comedies of, 315, 319, 371, 413; style of, 322–3

Terentius Christianus, 322
Tesmarus, Johannes, on Grammar, 287–8
Text-books:
Aeditio (Colet), 246–7
Aerarium Poeticum, 479
Alphabetum Graecum, 168
Annotated Book of Common Prayer (Blunt), 44
Apophthegmata (Lycosthenes), 425–6, (Posselius) 516
Ars minor (Donatus), 70
Bellum grammaticale (Hayward trans.), 276 *n.*
Behaviour, Youth's, etc. (Hawkins trans.), 112
Bible, History of the (Paget), 65
Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima, 436
Brevissima Institutio, 106
Busby's Greek Grammar, 514
Calliepeia (Drax), 435, 436
Calligraphia, 518
Camden, Wm, Greek Grammar, 495, 502
Capping-Book, the (Schönborn), 95 *n.*
Catechisms: the *Assembly's*, 63, 519; Palatinate, 63, 77, 519; Nowell's, 63, 70, 73–4, 76, 519; Isaac Walton on the, 71–2; school, 72 *sqq.*; Poynet's, 73; the Westminster, 76–7; school statutes *re*, 79–82; Maunsell's list of, 83–4; printers of, 84–5
Cato Christianus (Mulcaster), 289–90
Child's Portion, Of the (Woodward), 115 *n.*
Christian Religion, the Foundation of, gathered into Six Principles (Perkins), 64
Clavis Graecae Linguae (Lubinus), 520
Clenard's Greek Grammar, 501
Colloques Scolaires, les (Massebieau), 325 *n.*
Colloquia (Erasmus), 28, 108, 329–31
Colloquies of Corderius, 56–7, 108
Text-books (*cont.*)
Confabulatiunculae Pueriles (Gallus), 347; Hoole's trans. of, 348
Copia Verborum (Erasmus), 28, 437–9
de Civilitate Morum puerilium (Erasmus), 105
de Moribus (Lily), 107
de Pronunciatione (Butler), 109
de Quattuor Virtutibus (Mancinus), 120–1
Dialogues sacrés (Castellion), 57, 338, 340 *sqq.*; various translations of, 344–6
Dictionaries, Withals', 393–4
Dictionaries published in England up to 1660, 395–400
Dictionarius (John de Garlande), 381
Dictionary of Idioms (Walker), 462
Didactic, the Great (Comenius), 117–8
Disputatiuncularum Grammaticalium libellus (Stockwood), 96, 434 *n.*
Disticha de Moribus (Cato), 121–2
Donatus, the Old, 33, 244; simplicity of, 261
Dux Grammaticus (Clarke), 109–12
Eight Parts of Speech, Introduction to the (Colet), 253
Εἰσαγωγή (Shirley), 504
Ἐγχειρίδιον (Greek), 509
Elementarie (Mulcaster), 159
El libro del infante (Don Juan Manuel), 102 *n.*
Encheiridion Oratorium, 457
English Academy (Dr J. Newton), 87
English Grammar (Morris), 395
English Parnassus, 482
English Particles, A Treatise of (Walker), 279
Epitheta (Textor), 478
Epitome Troporum (Susenbrotus), 444
Exercitatio Linguae Latinae (Vives), 331 *sqq.*
Expositiones Hymnorum et Sequentiarum, 28, 139

Text-books (*cont.*)
Expositiones Psalmarum, 139
Flores Poetarum, 426, 483
Florilegium Phrasicon, 457
Formulae Oratoriae in usum Scholarum concinnatae, etc. (Clarke), 454–5
Galateo (Della Casa), 122–3
Gnomologicon Poeticon (Ross), 95 *n.*
Grammar, A Light to (Woodward), 160 *n.*, 291 *n.*
Grammar of the Latin Tongue (Lowe), 281
Grammar, A Shorte Introduction of, etc. (Lily), 241 *sqq.*
Grammar, Linacre's, 244–5
Grammars, early English printed, 232 *sqq.*
Grammars, Hebrew, 524 *sqq.*
Grammars, Lily's, authorship of, 249–50; monopoly in, 257–8; survival of, 259; emendations of, 260, 266–9; supplementary text-books to, 270–2; ecclesiastical control of, 258–9
Grammars, list of authorised, between 1540–1660, 252–6
Grammars, list of unauthorised, 273–5
Grammars, Lowe's list of, 288–9
Grammars, Whittinton's, 238–9
Grammar, Wolsey's, 250–2
Graecae linguae Spicilegium (Grant), 497
Greek text-books, 501–23
Greek vocabulary, 509–12
Hermes Anglo-Latinus, 316
Horae, 28, 31–2
Index Poeticus (Farnaby), 477
Index Rhetoricus (Farnaby), 443
Janua Linguarum (Comenius), 289, 291, 518
Janua Linguarum (Jesuits), 112
Lac Puerorum, 253
Latin Tongue, an Easie Entrance to (Hoole), 301
Latin Tongue, the True and Readie Way to Learn the (ed. Lubinus), 172
Text-books (*cont.*)
Latin-speaking, text-books for, 316
Manners, School of Good, 102
Margarita philosophica (ed. Reisch), 1
Memoriale Biblicum, 65
Music, Introduction to Practical (Morley), 216
Oration, phrase-books, 461–2, 467
Phrases Linguae Latinae (Manutius), 435
Phrase-books, list of, 467
Phraseologia Puerilis (Clarke), 461
Phraseologia (Robertson), 462
Primer, Hilsey's, 33
Principles of Music (Butler), 212
Progymnasma Scholasticum, 481, 510
Proteus Vinctus (Willis), 461
Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages, the (ed. Littlehales), 34, 37
Pueriles Confabulatiunculae, 299, 301, 347–8
Reading-books, 184
Rhetorica (Butler), 441; (Talaeus), 441; (Vossius), 444; (Tesmarus), 445; (Caussinus), 446
Right Teaching of Useful Knowledge (Snell), 113
Schola Salernensis, 114
Sententiae Pueriles, note on, 358–9
Spicilegium Graecae Linguae, 497
Stenographic and Cryptographic (Bridges), 67
Stenographie, Epitome of (Everardt), 67
Symbola Heroica (Reusner), 423–4
Synonymorum Sylva, 457
Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Stephanus), 387
Thesaurus Poeticus (Buchler), 477
Vocabularies and Dictionaries, 8th to 16th centuries, 380 *sqq.*
Vocabularies, Old English (Thomas Wright), 380, 401
Writing-books, representative list of, 202

Text-books, religious aim in, 536–9
Theme-writing, 422 *sqq.*; aim of, 423; best text-books for, 425; old grammar school methods, 430 *sqq.*
Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, 10–11
Thesaurus Ciceronianus, 387
Thoughts on Education (Locke), 120
Tolley, David, publishes first Greek Grammar, 501–2
Town Life in the 15th Century (Mrs Green), 22 *n.*
Tractate of Education (Milton), 61 *n.*
Trivium, 1; revolution in perspective of, 3–4
Trotzendorf, 56
Tunstall, Cuthbert, 2
Tusser, Thomas, 145

Udall, John, 524
Udall, Nicholas, plays by, 324
Universities, ecclesiastical control of, 19–20
University of Cambridge, licensing of teachers at, 19; grammar schools connected with, 23
University of Oxford, 17, 23
Ursinus, 75

Verse-making, mediaeval, 469; Elizabethan, 471; required by school statutes, 473–4; Brinsley's rules for, 475; text-books, 477–80; in Hoole's school, 481–2; in country schools, 486
Villedieu, Alexander of, 3
Visitations, 20, 258
Vives, J. L., definition of wisdom, 118; as lecturer at Oxford, 250; on teaching of Grammar, 262; on paper-books, 263 *n.*; colloquies of, 300, 327; penetration into nature of boys, 324
Vossius, G. J., 444
Vulgaria, from Terence, 401; Horman's, 402

Wallis, John, 2
Walton, Dr Brian, 527
Wase, Christopher, 12 *n.*, 20, 23 *n.*, 70
Waynflete, William, song school established by, 143, 205, 222
Webbe, Dr Joseph, views on grammar teaching, 285–6
Webster, John, 89
Whittinton, Robert, 226; grammatical works of, 238–40
Williams, Thomas, on the want of schools, 16 *n.*
Winchester College and the Bible, 53; Latin-speaking, 314
Withals, J., 391 *sqq.*
Wolsey, Thomas, 241, 250–1, 411, 472
Woodward, Hezekiah, on human responsibility, 114–5; his *Light to Grammar*, 160, 283, 292
Writing, idea of, in Middle Ages, 139; Ascham's views on teaching, 186; first English-published treatise on, 187; writing books, 16th century, 188 *n.*; Mulcaster on, 188–9; fees paid for teaching, 189–90; writing-paper, 190; copy-books, list of, 202–4
Writing Schoolmaster (Bales), 201
Writing Schools, 137

Xenophon, 521

Youth's Behaviour, 112

Zeiglographia (Shelton), 67–8
Zodiacus Vitae (of Palingenius), 378–9

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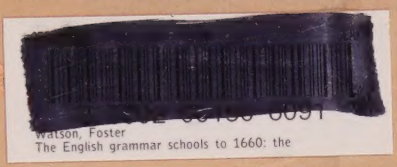

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